Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2008 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation

http://www.archive.org/details/servianpeoplethe02laza

THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

The oak tree at Takovo before the church

Here in 1815, on Palm Sunday, Milosh Obrenovich called the Servians to arms for the final insurrection against the Turks

THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

THEIR PAST GLORY AND THEIR DESTINY

BY

PRINCE LAZAROVICH-HREBELIANOVICH

WITH THE COLLABORATION OF

PRINCESS LAZAROVICH-HREBELIANOVICH

(ELEANOR CALHOUN)

ILLUSTRATED

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME II

NEW YORK

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

1910

Copyright, 1910, by
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

Published October, 1910

All Rights of Translation Reserved

UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA
ATLAS ANNEX LIBRARY

CONTENTS

Volume II

PART IV—HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER PAGE

XI. Mediæval Servian States — Kingdoms and Empire 423

Review of the General Situation in the Near Orient up to the Coming of the Turks into Europe 423

1. First Servian States 433

2. Zeta as Early Political Centre of Servian People. Servian Kings in Zeta (1077) 440

3. Rashka and Zeta. Contest for Supremacy . . 446

4. Strong Servian States—Greater Rashka and Bosnia. Servian Kings in Rashka 449

5. Servian Power Predominant in the Balkans . 471

6. Servian Empire 479

XII. Fight of the Servian People Against the Turks. Full Tide of the Turkish Conquest 499

Review of the General Situation from the Coming of the Turks into Europe up to the Consummation of the Conquest—Fight of the Servian People Against the Turks . 499

1. Full Tide of Turkish Conquest. Fall of the Independent Servian States 543

160875

CHAPTER PAGE

2. The Turks Conquer Hungary and Besiege Vienna 560

3. Re-erection of the Servian Patriarchat as a Compromise Between the Servian People and the Ottoman Empire. Servian Insurrections 564

XIII. Reflux of the Turkish Tide—Servians on the Defensive Against Turkey and Austria . 578

Review of the General Situation as it Affected the Near Orient During the Eighteenth Century 578

Reflux of the Turkish Tide—Servians in Defence Against Turkey and Austria 585

XIV. The Past Hundred Years—Wars of Liberation and Servian Renascence 618

Review of the General Situation Affecting the Near Orient up to the Present Day 618

1. Loyal Serb Rising, 1804–5 629

2. First Wars of Liberation 638

3. Interior Organisation of Newly Freed Servia . 643

4. War from 1809 to 1813 646

5. The Turks Again Masters of Servia During One Year 663

6. Final Successful Rising. Servia Free . . . 666

7. Servian People from 1830 to 1859. Servia and Montenegro as Principalities 678

8. Young Servian Movement for Unification . . 692

9. Servia and Montenegro Sovereign States. Serbo-Montenegrin-Turkish War, 1876-78 . 699

PAGE

10. Servian People from 1878 up to the Present Day. Servian Kingdom 707

Conclusion 725

Appendix—Serbo-Turkish Canal Project . . . 731

Index 735

ILLUSTRATIONS

Volume II

THE OAK TREE AT TAKOVO BEFORE THE CHURCH *Frontispiece*

FACING PAGE

MONASTERY OF HILENDAR ON MOUNT ATHOS, BUILT BY STEPHAN NEMANYA AND SAINT SAVA 454

LAZARITZA CHURCH AT KRUSHEVATZ, BUILT BY TSAR LAZAR BETWEEN 1360 AND 1370 494

CHURCH AND MONASTERY OF RAVANITZA, BUILT BY TSAR LAZAR BETWEEN 1368 AND 1372 512

MONASTERY OF LYUBOSTINA, BUILT BY TSARINA MILITZA, WIFE OF TSAR LAZAR. HERE HER BODY NOW REPOSES 554

THE EXODUS IN 1689–1690 OF THIRTY THOUSAND SERVIAN FAMILIES FROM SOUTHERN SERVIA, LED BY THE SERVIAN PATRIARCH, ARSEN TZERNOYEVITCH, INTO SOUTHERN HUNGARY, AT THE INVITATION OF THE HAPSBURG EMPEROR, LEOPOLD I 586

BELGRADE FORTRESS 652

A SERVIAN FIELD BATTERY 692

PRINCE MICHAEL STREET, BELGRADE 712

Front Cover, Volume I: Arms of the Old Servian Empire

Front Cover, Volume II: Arms as borne since 1371 by the Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich

MAPS

FACING PAGE

Servian Kingdom in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries . . .
Servian Empire, Fourteenth Century 480

Turkey in Europe from 1526 to 1689 585

The existing Inland Waterways of Central Europe, navigable for boats of 1,000 tons, and the projected Danube-Ægean (Serbo-Turkish) Canal . . . . . *Appendix* 734

PART IV

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE SERVIAN PEOPLE

CHAPTER XI

MEDIÆVAL SERVIAN STATES—KINGDOMS AND EMPIRE

Review of the General Situation in the Near Orient up to the Coming of the Turks into Europe.—The Balkan Peninsula was always the point of encounter between Orient and Occident. From the remotest dawn of history up to the present time, events of which the eastern Mediterranean and the Balkan Peninsula have been and are continually the scene have always had a vitally determining influence on the destinies of both East and West.

There of old, near the Dardanelles, was the scene of the war of Troy, momentous in its time; there came the Persian armies crossing the Hellespont and the Danube, in defence of Persia's possessions in Asia Minor against the Thracians, which brought about the conflict between Hellas and Persia, the battles of Marathon and Salamis; thence went Alexander the Great carrying victoriously the culture of the Occident to the Orient up to the gates of India. With the annihilation of Carthage by Rome and the mastery of the Mediterranean and all its lands the Balkan Peninsula became part of the Roman world.

During centuries the "Pax Romana," the result of that universal conquest, developed between the isles of Britain in the Far West and China, crossing Europe to the Persian Gulf and India and over Transoxiana a vast intercommerce whose golden treasure poured sooner or later along all those roads which led to Rome—that old Rome which had its Wall Street, with its corporations, its stock gambling, its exchanges and financial conjuring. The interminable line of merchandise between rising and setting sun, lost over far horizons, took its way eastward then, as now, by the great land road from the west across

the Balkan Peninsula and the Bosphorus, and in Asia along the line to-day traced out for the future Bagdad railway; so the commerce of the world still seeks the beaten tracks traced out by nature, and only for a time may be turned from its natural route by political or other artificially created conditions, temporary in essence.

Rome and Persia alone were the two great States holding the fiat of the world. They alone had imposed recognition on mankind of their legitimacy and legal international standing. And every State of Mediæval Europe based its legitimacy on that of ancient Rome.

The conception of the universality of the Roman Catholic Church and its plan of world domination is the persistency of that ancient idea of Roman Universal Empire.

The German Empire, the Austrian Empire, the French Empire of Napoleon, all were in their creation the assertion of the Divine Right and continuity of the ancient western Roman Empire; while Russia is the persistency of the eastern Roman Empire, and Turkey was in reality the reincarnation of the old Persian dominion coming to sit on the throne of Byzance.

With the halving of the ancient Roman Empire into East and West, and the transference of the Imperial seat from Rome to Constantinople, was created the Near Eastern problem of the Middle Ages.

Basing themselves on the principle that the transference of the Roman Emperors from Rome to Byzance meant the abandonment by them of universal Roman rule, the Roman Catholic Popes assumed for themselves the old Roman pretension to world-rule, arrogating supreme power to the Pope as sole legal repository of universal authority, the divinely qualified giver of kingly license, from whom alone "Kingdoms and Empires" should roll "like plates dropped from his pocket."

In the promulgation of that pretension the Pope came into conflict with the Roman Emperor at Byzance and the Eastern half of the Christian world, causing the great schism in Christendom, cutting it into the Eastern and the Western Church.

As a mighty arm in the attempt to subdue the Byzantine Emperor and force the Eastern Church under Rome, the Pope re-erected the "Holy Roman Empire" with the crowning of Charlemagne in 800, but his creation was a Roman Empire "of Germanic tongue."

The cutting up of Charlemagne's Empire by the treaty of Verdun gave rise to another eternal question in European politics, the contest through the ages for the possession of the Rhine.[1]

But the "Holy Roman Empire of Germanic tongue" did not fulfil the mission expected of it as dominator of Byzance. The Papal pretensions of supreme authority came to clash with the very Emperors whom the Popes had created. These contests between Pope and Emperor brought forth in the west the long and bitter wars of Guelfs and Ghibellines. The Pope sought soldiers and allies in his battles against the Emperor in Germany, the Emperor in Byzance, and the Schismatic Church. Such allies were found in the French Anjous, in the Normans, and in the Rulers of Poland, of Bohemia, and of Hungary.

With the advent of Mahomet the conquering Arab hordes streamed westward in two armies, one across the north of Africa to Spain and France, the other to Constantinople. The Saracens in the west were driven back from France across the Pyrennees, and afterward from Spain, the tide slowly receding during centuries; those in the east being pressed back from the Bosphorus retreated southward to Syria.

With one vast sweep of conquest was created the mighty Saracenic Empire, stretching from Spain across Africa and Asia to the borders of India under the rule of the Khalifs, the successors of Mahomet. The sole great force binding together those vast reaches of peoples was the single flame of conquest. Once those whirlwinds past and spent, their fires burnt out, came dismemberment with the same rapidity, and there was a falling back of the various peoples into the temper of their usual existence. But the tremendous impulse, if momentary, had

[1] The treaty of Verdun in 814 had as consequence the creation of the Germanic Roman Empire out of the eastern parts of the Frankish Empire, whose western part became the Kingdom of France; the central region in the north, Lorraine and the Dutch lowlands, while the south formed Italy. Since that time the battle goes on between the eastern part, Germany, and the western part, France, contending for the middle and lower regions. The contest concerning Italy was for once and all settled by the establishment of Italian unity. Strife for the northern and middle portions still continues, and the questions of the possession of Alsace and Lorraine, the mouth of the Schelde and the Rhine, still form to-day, as they did a thousand years ago, a basis of European policies.

been sufficient to create a large intellectual movement, founding on the ancient attainments of Hellas, Byzance, and Rome a brilliant Arabic culture. That cultural movement found expression in the schools of thought and science of Bagdad, of Cairo, of Kairowan, of Tlemcen, of Cordova and Sevilla, which during that epoch were seats of the highest learning in the civilised world, attracting scholars from Europe as well as from the far Orient.[1]

Prior to the tenth century all of Eastern Europe was one solid block of Slav populations in various State formations: Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, extending over Pannonia (Hungary of to-day), the numerous small Russian republics, and the Servian States south of the Danube, pressing eastward toward Byzance.

Early in the Christian era, from the turbulent masses to the north of China, began those terrific outbursts which hurled toward the west in successive explosions the vast Mongolic hordes that came to Europe in barbaric invasions in the fourth century as Huns, in the sixth century as Avars and Bulgars, in the tenth century as Magyars, and in the thirteenth century as Tartars. Of the earlier Mongolic hordes the only vestiges remaining in Europe were a small batch of Bulgars settling south of the Danube estuary, and the Magyars, who made a sharp cleavage in the Slavonic block, taking anchor in the heart of ancient Pannonia.

Other tribes extending by degrees their dominion in Asia by way of Turkestan came westward, not in tempestuous invasions, but rather by a slow and steady process of infiltration, founding temporary dominions along the stages of their progress—Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khorassan. One of their tribes, the Seljuks, enters the service of the Khalifs of Bagdad; and gradually superseding the Arabs as masters, the Seldjuk Turks reach a point of supreme domination over the decayed and ruined Arabian Empire at the period of the First Crusade —wavering for a time to rise once more to dominance accumulating the power to impose their yoke on the entire eastern Christian world.

In the great conflict between the Eastern and the Western Churches,

[1] It is to be remembered that much of the refinding of the literature and lore of ancient Greece which brought in the Italian Renascence came through translations from the Arabic of the Greek Classics.

Byzance was able to oppose successfully the Popes' armies, furnished by Hungary and the Normans.

The Servian States, headed first by Zeta then by Rashka, were strong, and steadily augmenting in power. Between Rome and Byzance they held their own by a fluctuating policy, leaning according to the peril of the time, now toward Rome, now toward Constantinople, finding security only in a masterful elusiveness.

In the Pope's great struggle in Europe for supremacy, marked by triumphs and by failures, the response of Roman Catholic Christendom, slow to realise and rally to the greatness of the Papal conception, failed to provide the Curia with the spontaneous and universal support necessary to the accomplishment of the vast purpose. In Byzance, following the reign of the strong Emperor Basil II, came a period of weakness. In Syria the several Turkish States formed out of the ruins of the Arabic Empire were in strife among themselves. At that time Armenia was able to throw off the Turko-Arabic rule and appealed to the Pope. The conditions in those regions of the world became suggestive to the Roman Curia of a majestic plan—a call to Europe to go to Palestine and rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the Infidel. Such a sacred and mighty exploit would not only rouse the generally sluggish religious faith to life and action, but it would place in the hands of the Pope a stupendous Imperial army recruited from the peoples of all the States of Europe. A part of the Papal plan, and not the least in portent, was to be the erection in Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor of a chain of Latin States which, compressing the lands of Byzance between eastern and western Papal dominions, would bring the schismatic church under submission.

In 1099 the First Crusade takes Jerusalem by assault and establishes the Kingdom of Jerusalem with sway over Palestine and Syria from the gulf of Alexandretta to Egypt and the Red Sea. Within the new Kingdom were set up numerous principalities and counties under strictly feudal régime. The creation of these States was artificial, imposing a purely foreign domination entirely strange to the people from whom, as they found in it only the relentless exploitation of the feudal régime of Europe, it remained always in isolation. These small States were

not able long to survive and one by one fell into Turkish hands. Ninety years later, in 1187, Jerusalem itself was taken by the powerful Kurdish Sultan Saladin (Saala-eddin). The later crusades, led by the kings Philip Augustus, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and the Emperor Barbarossa, were unable to regain the Holy City and accomplished nothing.

The alliance between the great Servian ruler Stephan Nemanya and the German Emperor Barbarossa suggested designs adopted afterward by the son of Barbarossa, Henry VI, for the German conquest of Byzance, in alliance with the Serbs, and the reunion under a single Emperor of the Eastern and Western halves of the Roman Empire. That plan aimed at establishing the supremacy of the Germanic Emperor over the Pope, and its realisation would have called for the submission of all European Countries to the Imperial Roman Germanic Standard. Death cut short the plans of Henry VI in 1197 as it had those of his father Barbarossa.

Pope Innocent III called for a new crusade against Islam, which the kings of Europe refused to join. Venice, which had risen to a high zenith as the carrier of the commerce between Europe and the Orient, came in its turn under the glamour of spacious world-ambitions, and though it was not to the interest of the Serene Signory to allow further disturbance of the economical and trade conditions of the Levant (Syria, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Egypt), the Doge of Venice, Dandolo, took great part in the Fourth Crusade, and had much to do with diverting the attention of its other leaders from Jerusalem to Constantinople. The capital of Byzance was taken by assault in 1204, Baldwin of Flanders seizing the crown as head of the new Latin Empire, Boniface of Monferat naming himself "King of Thessalonika," while Dandolo, Doge of Venice, calling himself "Despotos," annexed, in the name of the Republic, all coast lands, islands, and other territory upon which he could lay hand. The Pope established in the new Empire of the Crusaders at Constantinople a Roman Catholic Patriarch. Byzantine authority, driven from Constantinople, divided itself into a Despotat in Epirus under the family of the Angelos; the Empire of Trebizond in Asia under the Comnenes; and the Empire under Theodor Lascaris at Nicea which was also the refuge of the Œcumenical Orthodox Patriarch.

The new Empire of the Crusaders on the Bosphorus found itself in conflict in Europe with the Servian Kingdom, the new Vallacho-Bulgarian State under Tsar Ioannitza, and with the Despotat of Epiros; after a single decade its limits had shrunk to the single city and outlying districts of Constantinople. Owing to the wars of contest for the Byzantine throne between the Despot of Epiros and the Emperor at Nicea, the Latin domination was able to linger on, dying slowly from within up to 1261 when Michael VIII, Paleologue, without a stroke of the sword entered Constantinople.

The Empire of Trebizond had fallen soon after its erection before the Turkish Sultan of Ikonium, bringing the Turks to the shores of the Black Sea.

In the early thirteenth century the Turkish tribes on the Amour River (Manchuria), in the service of the Chinese Emperor, gathered under Khengis-Khan innumerable Mongolic tribes, in range of wide conquest, sweeping from the Pacific across Corea, Northern China, Pekin, thence to Turkestan, the flood rolling on to Russia, crossing Hungary, and finally, by a strange and impressive fate, being broken in Bohemia. These vast conquests were made in the name of China, and under commands issued from its capital Pekin, which brought Chinese sway up to the eastern confines of Europe, the Golden Horde remaining supreme in the Steppes of Russia during two centuries.

The Byzantine Empire, though re-established in its ancient seat, worn out and feeble, most of its territory lost, was a ready prey to a strong conqueror. From the east came on in rapidly advancing stages the fierce and warlike Turks in organised military legions, and from the west, the young and sturdy Servian Kingdom hastened toward Constantinople.

The Hungarian King Ludwig also stretched his desires of conquest across the Serb lands to the Bosphorus and designed to enter the lists as descendant of the Latin rulers.

It was, however, only the Servian Emperor Doushan who was able to extend the limits of his realm near to the walls of Constantinople—up to within a hundred miles of the Imperial City—and wear the crown as Emperor of Serbs and Românians (Romans).

In 1355 the Servian Emperor prepared to take the final step and enter Constantinople, but was suddenly stricken down at the threshhold. Some months later the Turks for the first time occupied European territory, crossing the Dardanelles to the peninsula of Gallipoli.

So came face to face the opposed forces, Serb and Turk, who were to wage a battle of the centuries, contending for the possession of the Balkan Peninsula.

AFTER the invitation of Justinian I, the Slavonic Emperor of Byzance, in about 550, to the Slovenes to enter the depopulated Balkan Peninsula their immigration into those lands increased in ever-swelling tides.

The Emperor Heracleus (610–41) in his wars against the Persians who had invaded Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, was obliged to withdraw all garrison troops from European Byzance, which was left unprotected against the incoming floods of Slovenes—those Free Slovenes of the east and the Slovenes of the west under Avaric over-lordship—who advanced taking Nissa and Sophia driving before them the sparse numbers of inhabitants back on Salonika or farther southward, or else to the mountains. The tribes and Clans of the Slovenes then occupied and settled the plains and valleys. In 626 they beleaguered Constantinople from land and sea, while the Persians were attacking the Byzantine Capital from the Asiatic side. Heracleus beat back both attacks. The result of that defeat was that the Slovenes who had been under the over-lordship of the Avars revolted and freed themselves.

At that time the age brought forth an event momentous in the world's history: a new conqueror

arose in the Prophet Mahomet; he and his successors led the Arabs or Saracens first against the exhausted Persians, wresting from them their conquests of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt, and then against Byzance.

Meanwhile the Slovenes had filled the Balkans, where they had entered into full possession of the land and set up independent administration in small Clans or State formations. The successor of Heracleus, Constantine III (642–68), undertook a campaign against them and defeated them at the Vardar River. Several of the tribes he carried away to Bythnia in Asia Minor, where he settled them under the administration of their own Clan-chieftains to be a border guard against the newly arisen Saracenic foe. The appellation "Serb" is recorded historically in the name of the episcopal seat of those tribes "Gordo-Servon."

In 680 Tartar tribes calling themselves Bulgars invaded the plains south of the Danube River bordering on the Black Sea up to the Balkan Mountains, subduing eight tribes of Slovenes and occupying the lands up to the river Iskar; at a later period they pushed westward as far as the Timok River which still to-day is the boundary between Bulgaria and Servia.

During the ensuing two hundred years those Slovene tribes completely assimilated their conquerors, upon whom they imposed their Slavonic language and customs, receiving from them in return only the name of "Bulgar." So came to be created the Bulgarian people, differentiated by its Tartaric bias from the other Slav nations.

In 688 another campaign was undertaken against the Slovenes settled on the Varder and Struma Rivers in Macedonia, by Justinian II, and again large numbers of them were forcibly carried to Asia Minor to further re-inforce the ramparts of the Byzantine Empire against the Saracens.[1]

By the end of the eighth century the population of the Balkan Peninsula was almost entirely Slovene. The exact number of their tribes is not known. Eight tribes in the east fell under the Bulgars, and the main masses of the other tribes clustered at an early period around two of the Clans—either by reason of geographic conditions or because of the superior organisation of those two clans. The Hrvats (Croats) in the north-west and the Serbs settled between the rivers Ibar and Lim, in the central regions, became the two chief denominating factors of the Slovenes in the Balkans.

The lands of the western water-shed along the Adriatic Sea were called "Primoryia" ("next-the-sea") and the eastern countries "Zagoryia" (beyond-the-mountains").

Except from the tribes nearer Constantinople, including those on the Vardar and Struma Rivers, the Byzantine rulers had not been able to obtain more than a nominal recognition of suzerainty. The Serbs and Croats farther to the west looking upon that recognition as purely formal and temporary,

[1] Those Slavonic tribes, little relishing that enforced servitude, went over to the Saracens, and, at a later period, Slovenes took part with the Saracens in the conquest of Spain. During some fifty years small Sloveno-Saracenic States existed in the Balearic Isles and on the adjacent Spanish coast.

the interior life of the small Serb States followed its natural course with little interference from Byzance.

By the beginning of the ninth century the name of "Serb" had come to supersede all other tribal appellations which remained only to designate the localities settled by the various tribes. Some few Clans were slow in joining themselves to the whole, and even to-day there are one or two small districts whose inhabitants call themselves indiscriminately "Slovenes" or "Serbs" or "Croats."

To the early part of this formative period belongs the attempt of Loudovit, Knez of the Slovenes, on the Sava River, to form a great Slovene State which should be free from Franks, Byzantines, and Bulgars (not as yet assimilated into a Slavonic people).

1. FIRST SERVIAN STATES

By the first part of the eighth century there had been formed the larger Servian States of Rashka, to-day Novi-Bazar; south-eastern Bosnia and south-western Servia, the cradle of the Servian Empire; Zeta, to-day Montenegro; and the three States forming to-day Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Dalmatia, then called Travounia (Trebigne), Houm or Zahoumlya, and Neretva. Croatia developed later.

These States developed rapidly in strength, first one and then another of them holding the balance of power, in the attempt to lead in the unification of the whole into a great Servian realm.

Rashka, the first of these States to come forward, was in the early ninth century hard pressed by the Bulgarians, who, themselves secure from Byzance and

the Franks (then fully occupied with the Saracens), were bent on making conquests in Servian countries. The Grand-Zhupan of Rashka, Vlastimir Vladislavich, was able, in his successful defence, to obtain the united efforts of all the Servian States against the Bulgarian attacks. That co-operation gave to Rashka for the time being the leadership among the Serb peoples.

During the period 820–80 the inhabitants of the other Servian States along the Adriatic, finding their chief occupation in maritime pursuits, especially in piracy, terrorised the seas, inflicting heavy losses on the maritime trade of Venice, Ragusa, and other Byzantine towns of the Mediterranean. The ancient accounts of those days name, among the rulers of Neretva, the Corsairs Drouyak and Lyondislav against whom Venice continually made war. The Neretlani raiding the Adriatic and Mediterranean captured in 870 several Ambassadors who were returning to Rome from a council at Constantinople. The Pope complained to the Emperor Basil I, "the Macedonian," who undertook to liberate the papal Ambassadors and incidentally to bring the haughty Servians under subjection. The punishment which he inflicted upon the Neretlani brought forth a recognition by all the other Serb States of Byzantine suzerainty. Basil also found it good statesmanship to recognise in return the rights of the Servian States in full to govern themselves according to their own institutions, and further showed his desire to conciliate them by settling a dispute between the rulers of Travounia and Zahoumlyia,

with the then Byzantine town of Ragusa, in which he ordered Ragusa to pay to those neighbouring rulers a yearly tribute of thirty-six gold pieces instead of sending that sum to the Imperial treasury at Constantinople.

Croats.—The Croats, who had been existing as a loose Clans-confederation under Frankish over-lordship, were able toward the end of the ninth century to throw off the Frankish yoke and create a sovereign State of Croatia under their own Ban Sedeslav, whose son Tomislav (914–40) was proclaimed King of Croatia. In the eleventh century the Croat Kingdom reached its zenith and included nearly all of Dalmatia and Slavonia. At the end of the eleventh century, torn by interior strife caused by unsuccessful efforts to resist the Romanisation of their Church, it fell under the Magyars and Rome and has never since that time been able to attain any lasting independence.[1]

At the end of the ninth century Germany fought the Great Moravian State and called to her aid the Mongolian Magyar tribes. The Magyars arrived, conquered Hungary, subduing the Slavs of that country, ancient Pannonia, and set up their rule which endures to this day.

Rashka.—After the death in 840 of Vlastimir, Grand-Zhupan of Rashka, his son Moutimir, who succeeded him, was finally able to crush the Bulgars, and up to the time of his own death devoted his efforts to the interior development of the Rashkan State. After him his successor and nephew, Peter

[1] Croatia is to-day Roman Catholic and an integral part of Hungary.

Goynikovich (892–917), realising the necessity of maintaining peaceful relations with Constantinople, recognised the suzerainty of Byzance. He obtained the junction of Neretva with Rashka, which move, however, met opposition from the Grand-Zhupan of Zahoumlyia Michael Vishevich, who was at that time successfully engaged in welding together the four Servian States of the Primoryia.

The issue became tense between the two Serb groups, and both Byzance and Bulgaria were swift to take advantage of the weakening results of that strife. After the death of Peter in 917 a struggle of fourteen years' duration ensued over the succession, the contest being fought out between candidates put forward by Byzance, Bulgaria, and Croatia. In the Primoryia Michael Vishevich, aided by Byzance and Croatia, united Zahoumlyia with Neretva, Trebigne, and Zeta.

Rashka was occupied by the Bulgars for a period of seven years. In 931 a relative of the former Grand-Zhupan, Chaslav Klonimirovich, who had been captured and kept as prisoner in Bulgaria, escapes, raises a revolt in Rashka against the Bulgarian usurpation, which he overthrows, and in the same year sets himself up as Grand-Zhupan of Rashka, a dignity to which he had been formerly elected by the people.

His first act was to recognise the suzerainty of Byzance. Fortunately for Chaslav a long war began between Byzance and Bulgaria, which allowed him freedom to consolidate his rule in Rashka, and by another stroke of destiny in the death of Michael

Vishevich, Chaslav was able to bind in union with Rashka the States of Zeta, Trebinyia, Zahoumlyia, and Neretva. Chaslav then organised the rule of the Servian lands into two sections, Rashka and Zagoryia, under his direct rule, and the lands of the Primoryia in independent union under his supremacy.

After the death of Chaslav, who fell after defeating the Magyars (960), his heirs were not able to keep the Serbian realm together.

The sentiment of independence pushed to excess among the different clans was, as ever among Servians, a disintegrating factor. First the States of the Primoryia separated themselves from the whole and from each other. In Zagoryia itself the territory about the river Bosna made itself into a new State of Bosnia, and Rashka became shrunk within narrow boundaries.

The Servian States continued to weaken themselves still further by internecine struggles.

In 969 the Russians under Knyiaz Svyiatoslav conquer Bulgaria as allies of Byzance. The Russians, once in Bulgaria, show no move to evacuate in favour of Byzance, who then attacks them, driving them out of the country, and annexes Bulgaria. Byzance from that time on holds and rules the land directly as absolute master, leaving no vestige of self-government to the Bulgarians during more than two hundred years, down to the time when the Servian Ruler, Stephan Nemanya, at the head of a Servian army, finally freed Bulgaria from Byzantine sway.

Following the annexation of Bulgaria the Byzantine Emperor John Scimisces, in 972, subdued

Rashka and the movement for Serb independent State-formation shifted its centre from Rashka to the Primoryia:—to Trebigne and then to Zeta.

Macedo-Servian State from 977–1018.—A third attempt was made to form a Slovenic State in the Balkans in the basin of the Vardar. The two sons of a Bulgarian nobleman, David and Samuel Shishmanovich, were able to obtain a hearing among the Slovene leaders of the Vardar region in Macedonia for a revolt against Byzance, with the aim of raising enough Slovene troops to march to the delivery of Bulgaria. These designs were favoured by the state of general disorder which followed the death of the Byzantine Emperor John Scimisces. The Macedo-Slovene and Servian clans along the Vardar and up along the Morava River to the Danube rose enthusiastically to the call. The Shishmanovich, first David and after him Samuel, adopted the title of Tsar and "Khan" of Bulgaria as an appeal to Bulgarian national sentiment, but the inhabitants of Bulgaria could not be moved to rise and remained under the yoke of Byzance. Only for a short period could Samuel and his two successors retain hold of the realm which, without being able to invade Bulgaria or wrest it from Byzance, they had formed in purely Serbo-Slovene lands.

Samuel, after some years of fighting, defeats the Byzantine forces near Salonika in 996 and overruns the Greek peninsula. On his return he is taken unawares by the Byzantine army and barely escapes with his life; the Byzantines follow up the advantage gained and begin the reconquest of the lands

taken by Samuel. They recapture Vidin, eastern Macedonia, Thessaly (1002), which was nearly the half of his State, of which he retained only Albania, the Drim, Vardar and Morava regions, the mountains near Sophia and his suzerainty over the Serb Principalities.

In 1014 the war was renewed, and at the battle of Bellasitza on the Strouma Samuel's army was routed and again he but narrowly escaped with his life; 15,000 of his men were taken prisoners by the Byzantines and subjected to an inconceivable brutality.

The eyes of all of them were gouged out, each one-hundredth man being left with one eye to guide the others. In this mutilated state they were sent back to Samuel. When Tsar Samuel saw his warriors standing before him in such plight he fell dead of grief.

Within the next four years his two successors had run their short courses, losing all of the lands which Samuel had bound together in the Macedo-Slovene realm. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II reconquered the last of those territories, and spread his sway over the other Serb lands up to the Danube River and the Sava.

One potent result, however, of Samuel's ephemeral creation was that the Christian Church in Macedo-Slovene and Servian lands became independent of the direct authority of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople and were established under the Archbishop of Ochrida as a Slavonic Church.

The Bulgarians were not affected by this change, but remained as they had been before, dependent

upon their own Patriarch of Trnovo (in Bulgaria), whose modern successor is the Bulgarian Exarch.

Neretva.—During this period—the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh centuries—Venice rose to a dominant position, holding Dalmatia and the whole eastern shores of the Adriatic in almost unbroken sway for eight hundred years, up to the time of Napoleon. Since the year 948 Venice had paid a yearly tribute to the Neretva for immunity on the sea for Venetian commerce.

In 996 the Neretlani attacked some ships of Zara, a town under Croatian rule, but as the Croats were not able to intervene, Zara appealed to Venice, the Emperor Basil II had ceded Dalmatia to Venice, and the demand of Zara gave to the Doge of Venice, Pietro II Orsiolo, the welcome pretext to attack the Neretva and subdue the Croatian coast and Ragusa. From that moment dates the beginning of Venetian power, and afterward, during all the years of the Republic of Venice, a memorial feast was held on every Ascension Day to commemorate that birth of Venetian glory—celebrated by the far-famed ceremony called "the marriage of Venice with the Adriatic."

2. ZETA AS EARLY POLITICAL CENTRE OF SERVIAN PEOPLE. SERVIAN KINGS IN ZETA (1077)

After the subjugation of Rashka by Byzance and the consequent shifting of the centre of Servian aspirations westward to the Primoryia, and after the passing of Samuel's State, which for a brief period had owned the supremacy over Serb States, Byzance reasserted her rule over the whole Balkan Peninsula.

But the Servian spirit of independence flamed up in Zeta, asking even more than had as yet been accomplished. The times were past when the Serb States could be satisfied with self-government under foreign over-lordship. What Chaslav had attained was no longer their goal; they felt the necessity of establishing a sovereign kingdom.

After the death of Basil II the stability of the Byzantine Empire was shaken by internal disorders. A state of general upheaval was favoured by a movement urging as means of universal peace the abolition of all armies and fighting forces. This Byzantine anti-militarism threw the lands into civil war, which lasted for many years. In 1040, in the reign of the Emperor Michael IV, "the Paphlagonian," the Servian Knez of Zeta and Trebigne, Stefan Voislav, who was in forced detention at Constantinople, managed to escape to Zeta, where he roused the people in a war for complete liberation. Near the lake of Scutari he defeated the Strateg Georgios Provat. That victory called forth the immediate rising of the Servians on the Vardar River, the Morava, the Nishava, and those in the Branitchevo district; after the first successes, however, this insurrection subsided. In the following year Constantine IX Monomach came to the throne of Byzance, and his first move was an undertaking to subdue Zeta. He sent an army of 60,000 strong to attack Zeta on the south, and forced his three Servian vassals, the Grand Zhupan of Rashka, the Ban of Bosnia, and the Knez of Zahoumlyia, to attack Zeta on the north, with troops under command of Ludovit, Knez of Zahoumlyia.

Stephan Voislav, seeing the greater danger to be from the Byzantines, drew them into a pass near Bara, where in a sudden night attack which threw them into a general panic the Byzantine force was utterly annihilated (1042). Voislav then turned northward against Knez Ludovit, who had occupied Trebigne, belonging to Zeta. The forces met near Klobuk. Voislav proposed to Ludovit that the armed conflict should not proceed. Ludovit, bound by oath, would not consent to the offered truce; the Servians under him, however, refuse to fight their brother Servians, and Ludovit, in order to keep his word of sworn fealty to the Byzantine Emperor, challenges Voislav to single combat. The two Servian leaders fight in the presence of the two armies. Ludovit is wounded, and his army evacuates Trebigne, of which Voislav retakes possession. Rashka and Bosnia soon declared their independence from Byzance, and were brought by Stephan Voislav into union with his own State.

Michael (1053–81), son of Voislav, succeeded his brothers as ruler of Zeta, and in the beginning of his reign made peace with Constantine IX Monomach. Secure from Byzance, he attacked Rashka, which had seceded, and forced that State anew into the union under his rule. The Servian clans on the Danube, the Morava, the Vardar, the Drim, and the Strouma again revolted in 1073, asking help of Knez Michael, who sent them his son Bodin, with three hundred warriors and Voivoda Petril.

Near Prisren, the Clans-chiefs awaited Bodin and proclaimed him their Tsar. After a victory won

over the Byzantines the Servian army was divided into two parts; the army of the north, under Bodin, took Nish and the whole Morava and Danube districts; the southern army, under Petril, took Scoplyia (Uskub) and marched southward, but met defeat. Bodin then fought the Byzantine forces in battle on Kossovo Plain, where he lost the day, being taken prisoner and sent to Antioch, in Asia Minor. The revolted Servian clans were again forced under Byzance.

Zeta remained independent under Michael, who at that time united the Servian lands of Zeta, Dratch (Durrazzo), Trebigne, Zahoumlyia, Bosnia, and Rashka.

During the rule of Michael in Zeta the Byzantine realm was attacked by the Seldjuks in Asia Minor, by the Normans in southern Italy, and in succession on the Danube by Russians, Magyars, and the Petchenegs. These conditions relieved the Servian State from Byzantine pressure and favoured the work of Michael toward Servian consolidation. His first attention was given to the Church question. At that time the differences in creed and tenets between the Oriental (Orthodox) Church and the Occidental (Roman) Church were not very clearly defined, and the respective regions of influence of the two western and eastern pontiffs, each one proclaiming himself to be supreme, overlapped and continually fluctuated, interpenetrating the Servian lands in an unceasing contest for the people's allegiance. In the Primoryia the influence of the Roman jurisdiction predominated. Rome was preparing for the great

struggle for world-mastery, aiming to succeed as ecclesiastical power to the Universal Roman Empire.

The Curia at Rome proclaimed that the independent and democratic spirit of the Slavs was a danger to the success of that plan, that this danger would be enhanced if the Slav peoples were allowed as hitherto to use their own language in Church ritual, and that the Latin should therefore be enforced in place of the Paleo-Slovene then in use among Slavs. The Church Council at Spalato in 1059 forbade the Slavonic tongue to be used in the Roman Catholic Church throughout Slavonic lands. That decision aroused a storm of revolt among Roman Catholic Slavs.

It was part of the plan of the ruler of Zeta, working for the erection of a great Serb State, to obtain from Rome independent ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Servian State. Rome, from political reasons, and fearing lest Michael should turn to Constantinople, granted his petition, and re-established at Antivari the old Archbishopric of "Dioclea," extending over all Serb lands.

For the accomplishment of Servian consolidation it was necessary for Michael to have recognition of independence from either Rome or Byzance. The papal Curia at that time affirmed its pretensions as having sole authority to recognise a sovereign or sovereign State, and as it accorded with the Roman plans to draw into their orbit a powerful Balkan State having all interest to oppose Byzance, the Pope of Rome, Gregory VII, conferred the royal dignity and emblems upon Michael as Servian King in 1077.

The Servian States were *de facto* independent, but with that formal recognition they took their place in Europe as sovereign States.

On the death of King Michael he was succeeded by his son Bodin (1081–1101). Byzance on one side and the Pope, supporting the Norman attack on Byzance, on the other seek the co-operation of the Serbs. King Bodin finds it necessary to ally himself politically with Constantinople, but temporises with the Pope, which caused the Serb State to remain neutral. The Normans, fighting the battle of Rome, were for a time successful over Byzance. The Emperor Alexis Comnenos was, however, finally able to clear Albania from the Normans and turned his attention toward punishing King Bodin for not having aided him with a fighting force. King Bodin resolved not to remain merely on the defensive but to put forward in the offensive his cousin and vassal the Grand Zhupan of Rashka, Voukan. The Servians organised a campaign against Byzance along the line of the Kossovo and Metokhyia plains. Voukan advanced successfully, defeating the Imperial troops and occupying large stretches of Byzantine territory. In 1094 the Emperor Alexis Comnenos himself took the field, and Voukan's forces, not being in sufficient numbers to meet the Imperial army, fell back and offered terms of peace, which Comnenos was willing to accept. According to those terms the Serbs were not to further attack Byzance, but Rashka was to retain possession of all the Byzantine territory which Voukan had occupied.

Within a few months from that time—in 1096—

occurred the first vast move in the great papal design of world-conquest, and the hosts of the First Crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem crossed the Balkan Peninsula into Palestine. The Byzantine Emperor required the full force of all his armies to protect the lands they traversed. One large section of the crusading knights took its road through the lands of King Bodin. A historian accompanying the Crusaders mentions King Bodin as the "Dalmatian King."

Events in Syria and Palestine occupy the foreground of European attention, and the conflicting interests which up to then had found their playground in Servian lands being transferred to Asia Minor, the Serb States pass through a short period of interior development.

3. RASHKA AND ZETA. CONTEST FOR SUPREMACY

In putting Rashka forward to take the offensive against the Byzantines in 1091, King Bodin unconsciously outlined a policy of Servian aggrandisement for the next several centuries during which Rashka became again the centre of Servian gravity.

A new factor in Balkan equilibrium becomes active during the first decades of the twelfth century, in the Magyars who make wars of conquest in western Serb lands, occupying Croatia and Dalmatia. Those conquests brought them into clash with the interests of Venice, Byzance, and the Serb lands. From that time the Magyars pursue with aggressive energy an expansive policy aiming at Hungarian domination of the Balkans.

After the death of King Bodin (1101) his throne was claimed by several members of his family, causing bitter dissensions, bringing the intervention of Rashka and the interference of Byzance, who imposed upon Zeta her suzerainty. Zeta soon lost all predominance among the Serb States.

During that period in Rashka after the death of the Grand Zhupan Voukan, his heir Zavida was obliged to take refuge in Zeta, where was born in 1122 his youngest son Nemanya, who was to give his name to a long and glorious dynastic line. Ourosh, a relative, seized the throne of Rashka with Hungarian help.

The intervention of Ourosh in the affairs of Zeta was resented by the Emperor of Byzance, who made war against Rashka enforcing the recognition of Byzantine suzerainty. In 1150 Ourosh's successor, Ourosh II, in alliance with Hungary, attacked the Emperor Manoilo of Byzance who was then at war with the Normans. Ourosh was defeated and Manoilo carried further his campaign against the Hungarians who had overrun Bosnia.

The fight of Rashka with Hungary as ally against Byzance was rebegun in 1162. Meanwhile Ourosh II had been deposed by Manoilo and his brother Dessa set up in his stead. Dessa continued Ourosh's efforts for freedom and negotiated with the German Emperor Frederic Barbarossa and with Hungary. He attacked Manoilo twice, both times meeting with defeat and on the second occasion losing his throne.

In the same year the Byzantine Emperor reconquered all of the Servian lands, Bosnia, and all those

which Hungary had seized. Manoilo then divided all of the Servian lands among the four sons of Zavida; they were the Grand Zhupan Tichomir in Rashka, Miroslav in Zahoumlyia, Stratsimir in the western and Nemanya over the eastern districts bordering Byzance. Over Zeta he placed Knez Radoslav and over Bosnia a Ban.

In the Servian States, then fast held under Byzance, who had stripped them of the greater part of all self-government, the plan of the Serbs was to work in good understanding with the Byzantine suzerain, thus hoping to regain by degrees their lost liberties.

Nemanya ruled a smaller extent of territory than did either of his brothers. He began to work to gain the confidence of the Servian people, and created for himself a large following which aroused the suspicions of his brothers, especially of Tichomir. They seized him and his lands, confining him in a castle. The Emperor Manoilo, who saw in that move an attempt to reunify the Serb States, dethroned Tichomir and set up Nemanya in his place as Grand Zhupan, re-annexing some of the Serb districts.

Profiting by the war which forced Manoilo to turn his attention toward Hungary, the new Serb Grand Zhupan Nemanya retook those lands from Byzance. Manoilo then sent against him an army accompanied by Tichomir, under the command of the Strateg Theodor Padistos. At Pantina, near Zvetchan, on Kossovo Plain, a battle was waged in 1168 in which Nemanya utterly routed the Imperial army, laying the basis of a sovereign Servian State. That victory making him master of the situation was

followed up by the annexation to Rashka of Trebigne and Zahoumlyia and the Neretva, and in 1170, during the time that Manoilo was engaged in an Egyptian expedition, Nemanya attacked Zeta, defeating Radoslav Gadishnich, who was ruling as Vassal of Byzance, and annexed that territory. The question of Rashkan hegemony was settled and the Serb lands were united—with the exception of Bosnia. Thus Nemanya created the State of Mediæval Servia.

4. STRONG SERVIAN STATES—GREATER RASHKA AND BOSNIA. SERVIAN KINGS IN RASHKA

Servian mediæval history from that date falls into two closely interwoven divisions, the history of Rashka and the history of Bosnia.

The conquest of Croatia and Dalmatia by Hungary in 1153 had an important bearing on the development of the other two Servian States. Prior to that period the political problems of Bosnia and Rashka were identical; their common enemy had been Byzance. With the appearance of Hungary on the scene the situation was changed.

The forward policy of Rashka lay in a movement of expansion eastward to reclaim those Servian regions still under Byzance; while the history of Bosnia was an unceasing fight for existence throughout the centuries, one long series of ever-repeated battles to withstand the ever-recurring Hungarian invasions and the Hungarian attempts to subject the country from within. The papal plan required the Romanisation of the Servian peoples, and the Pope, using the lever of Magyar ambition, made Hungary

his mandatory. The Kings of Hungary were ordered by the Popes again and again to invade and stamp out all the creeds in Bosnia and forcibly Catholicise the country. In that stubborn and never-ending contest, nationality and faith were to the Serbs as one, and their resistance was never broken, down to the time when, finding themselves driven between two fires—Hungarian and Turk—they chose the Moslem as master, thinking to find more hope for a national future in temporarily accepting Mohammedanism rather than in submitting once and for all to Romanisation.

Although Rashka and Bosnia developed individually along differing trends, they were in brotherly and racial sympathy. Bosnia's problems bound her to inaction beyond her borders, while Rashka could go forward with initiative movement and progress.

In the second half of the twelfth century the Republic of Venice had become a fully organised and powerful State. By its vast commercial expansion it was brought into conflict with Byzance and sought strength in an alliance with Nemanya, ruler of Rashka. In the concerted campaign, however, Venice failed to come forward, and Nemanya, not finding the support upon which he had counted, was defeated with loss of territory and forced in 1173 to go to Constantinople to make submission to the Emperor Manoilo.

The State of Rashka was so strongly organised at that time that the effects of the Byzantine victory were but momentary and brought forth no reprisals.

Up to the death of Manoilo, Nemanya made no efforts to regain the lost districts, but employed the interim in interior development.

The matter most loudly calling for attention and settlement was the Church question. For centuries the Servians had chosen Christianity as their national faith, but the continual contests between the Pope of Rome and the Patriarch at Constantinople threshed out across the Serb lands—Rome gaining most in western regions and Constantinople most in eastern—subjected the Servians to continual changes of establishment, which resulted in alienating many from the Christian faith altogether. A part of the people returned to their ancient pagan beliefs; others were ready converts to Bogomilism, which in its simplicity, its extremely communistic tendencies, and its abolition of all ecclesiastical governance responded to many Slavonic instincts and mental conceptions. The greater number of the people still leant toward the Christian faith in the Orthodox rite.

Nemanya, in perceiving the equal danger to an organised state of Bogomilism and the evils of interference from a foreign power in submitting to either Rome or Byzance, decided the problem in a way which established a principle from which the Servian State could never afterward with impunity depart. He chose for the people that form of the Christian faith which was preferred by the majority of the population—the Orthodox Faith—foreseeing an independent and national ecclesiastical head. At the same time he recognised the necessity of temporising with Rome.

Realising the gravity to all national interests of the nihilistic tendencies of Bogomilism, Nemanya laid before the National Assembly a proposition for the suppression of that sect as an element destructive of national life. Many of the Servian nobles and other representatives were Bogomils or sympathised deeply with its principles. The ruler's proposed measure was hotly, even violently, debated, but was able at last to obtain the assent of the Assembly. The execution of the law did not find docile acceptance and caused several local risings which required to be put down with armed force. Many Bogomils fled from Rashka to other lands, especially to Bosnia. In Bosnia the great religious persecutions and other troubles opened a welcome door to Bogomilism, which under that influence abandoned its extreme characteristics and transformed itself into a practical working force, becoming even, as time went on, the temporary stronghold of national conservatism and playing a great part in Bosnian history.

In Rashka the Bogomils who remained gradually merged into the Orthodox faith, which unified the people in a single religious movement intimately bound up with national existence.

In 1180 died Manoilo, the last Byzantine Emperor able to still maintain some kind of hold on the ancient borders. Bosnia, Rashka, and Hungary at once threw off Byzantine suzerainty, and Nemanya, with King Bela of Hungary as ally, marched toward Constantinople. That war enabled Nemanya to take and annex large tracts of Serb-inhabited territory and to attain a result of yet greater significance—the

recognition by Byzance of absolute Servian independence and sovereignty of State.

In 1185 Nemanya instigated the Bulgars and Vallachians to revolt, aiding them in every way except by taking the field, which was precluded to him by the situation which arose.

In the same year the Byzantine Emperor, Isaac II, Angelos married the daughter of Bela III, King of Hungary. That monarch feeling secure from all interference from his son-in-law, and having already taken Belgrade and several other places on the Morava River, dreamed of still further Balkan conquests.

Nemanya, scanning the horizon for some means to cope with the double menace to the Servian position, discovered that the concerted ambitions of the King of Hungary and the new ruler at Constantinople were opposed to the interests of the Emperor Frederic I, Barbarossa, who had raised Germany to be the most powerful State in Europe, In 1188 a political embassy was despatched to the Emperor Frederic and found him preparing to lead a new crusade to the Holy Land. The negotiations so begun were furthered by envoys sent by Frederic Barbarossa to Nemanya, seeking cheap provisioning and free right of way through the Servian realm for his armies, conditions which Nemanya granted liberally.

The Servian ruler was actively supporting the Bulgarian insurrection and was looking for the timely arrival of Emperor Frederic. The German Emperor was received by Nemanya at Nish with Imperial honors, A political alliance was agreed upon, the

arrangements to include a marriage between members of the two ruling families.

The Crusaders, who were accompanied in their onward march by the Servian warriors, found themselves forced to combat the Byzantines, and Nemanya at once marched into Byzantine lands, annexing whatever places fell into his hands, continuing his conquests even when Barbarossa had forced the Emperor Angelos to allow his armies to pass on (1190).

Encouraged by the successes of Stephan Nemanya, the Servians on the Vardar revolted and freed themselves under the leadership of Dobromir Streza.

With the death of Barbarossa in Asia Minor, the Servians lost a precious ally and Byzance a dangerous foe. The Emperor Isaac Angelos turned at once with an army against Nemanya, whom he defeated, 1191. The Serb ruler was forced to sue for peace and had to relinquish his new conquests. However bitter these losses were, the Serb State under Nemanya had grown to such strength and stability that Byzance no longer dreamed of imposing her suzerainty as a condition of peace, and the sovereignty of the Servian State was left unimpaired. The new friendship between Byzance and Rashka was further confirmed by the betrothal of Nemanya's second son Stephan to Eudokia, niece of the Emperor Isaac Angelos.

The Emperor Isaac made peace also with Dobromir Streza, who in return for recognition of Byzantine suzerainty was allowed to rule between the Vardar and the Struma.

In 1195 Isaac Angelos died and was succeeded on the throne of Byzance by his brother Alexis An-

Monastery of Hilendar on Mount Athos, built by Stephan Nemanya and Saint Sava

gelos, the father-in-law of Nemanya's second son Stephan.

After his lifelong labours Stephan Nemanya longed for repose. Abdicating the throne, he set his eldest son Voukan as administrator over Zeta, and to his second son Stephan he left the throne of Rashka.

When he announced his abdication to the National Assembly, on March 25, 1196, it was opposed with much earnest pleading, but his resolution was fixed and not to be shaken by the prayers of the assembled nobles and representatives.

Nemanya entered monastic orders under the name of Simeon, his wife at the same time becoming a nun under the name of Anastasia. He first retired to the monastery of Studenitza (founded by himself), and at a later time joined his son Sava at Mount Athos. There, at the Servian monastery of Hilendar, built by himself and Sava, Nemanya died in the arms of his son in 1199.

Meanwhile the papal Curia at Rome saw that success in the catholisation of Serb land could only be hoped for through the conquest of those countries by a foreign Catholic power, so, after the death of the King of Hungary, Bela III, in 1196, and the succession to the throne of his son Emeric, the Pope entered into a pact with the new Hungarian King for the conquest of the Servian States of Bosnia and Rashka.

The first attack of the new allies was against the Rashkan province of Zahoumlyia, which they invaded in 1198. They were able to secure the help of Knez Voukan, administrator of Zeta, which Servian

Prince, wounded at being supplanted as the eldest heir of his father Nemanya by his younger brother Stephan, made plans not only to regain possession of the throne of Rashka, but intrigued as well against the Ban of Bosnia Koulin, with the idea of uniting both Rashka and Bosnia under his rule.

Voukan, in return for aid to be given to him by Emeric and the Pope's promise to recognise him as Servian King, pledged himself to establish papal supremacy in the Servian State.

As a counter-move to these negotiations and military acts, Ban Koulin, who, with the Bosnian people, was accused of having adopted Bogomilism, offered submission to the Pope and conversion to Catholicism. Stephan of Rashka also sent envoys to Rome to ask of the Pope consecration as Servian King, promising in return recognition of papal supremacy within his territories.

The Pope immediately accepted the offers of Ban Koulin of Bosnia but hesitated to give ear to the Rashkan ruler's proposals, which were contrary to the plans of the chosen papal mainstay the King of Hungary. At the end of 1202 Voukan and Emeric attacked Rashka, driving Stephan from the throne. Voukan did not, however, receive the expected guerdon of victory, the royal crown, for Emeric, the Hungarian King, proclaimed himself King of Servia, leaving Voukan to be content with the title of Grand Zhupan.

Then intervene, in Balkan affairs, events of vast European importance, which prevent Emeric from making good his claim and force him to leave Voukan in possession of Rashka, while he himself is

called to protect other conquests in the west. The Fourth Crusade starts from Venice. Baldwin of Flanders, Pierre de Courtenay, and its other leaders have not the money to pay for the passage of the army to Palestine in Venetian ships. In course of the negotiations Venice offers to transport the troops if, in payment, the Crusaders will pause on the way and retake for Venice the town and district of Zara, on the Dalmatian coast, which had been seized by Hungary. The Crusaders keep their part of the bargain in regard to Zara; that action angers the Pope and the Hungarian King. Proceeding on their way, the Crusaders are called by the nephew of the Byzantine Emperor to aid him to regain his father's throne. They sail around the Greek peninsula and up the Bosporus to Constantinople, where, in July, 1203, they put the younger Alexis on the throne, which he is allowed to occupy for one year. In July, 1204, having become reconciled with the Pope and abandoned dreams of the Holy Land, they dethrone the Emperor of Byzance, set up Baldwin of Flanders in his stead, proclaim the Latin Empire, drive out the Orthodox Patriarch, and Thomas Morosini, a Venetian priest, is created by Pope Innocent III Roman Patriarch of Constantinople.

In Rashka Voukan was not allowed to retain the power placed in his hands by the Hungarian King. As soon as the foreign pressure was removed the Rashkan Assembly deposed Voukan, who returned to Zeta and recalled their former Grand Zhupan Stephan.

Stephan, the reinstated Grand Zhupan of Rashka, had prayed his younger brother Sava to come from Mount Athos and make peace between his brother Voukan and himself. Sava came to Servia, bringing with him the body of their father Stephan Nemanya. The two brothers met him on the southern borders of their State, and with great solemnity the body of Nemanya was borne to Stoudenitza Monastery, where it lies to-day.

Over the ashes of the great dead forgiveness was pronounced and peace was sworn between the two brothers.

In the same year Zahoumlyia threw off the Hungarian yoke and reunited itself with Rashka.

As a result of the seizure of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, the Byzantine Emperor transferred his headquarters to Nicea, in Asia. The sole remaining European territory still a dependency of Byzance was Epirus, bordering the Adriatic and including Albania and Macedonia almost up to the Vardar River, under the Byzantine despot Michael Angelos Comnenos, whose ultimate ambition was to regain Constantinople as successor to the Imperial Byzantine throne. The plans and hopes of the Emperor at Nicea bore in the same direction, with himself as heir, thus creating a constant double pressure, from east and from west, on the Latin rule at Constantinople. That rule, bringing in institutions and ideas foreign to the old-established ways of the population, remained only a superposed structure—a superimposed authority. With the new Emperor

Baldwin came the erection of various duchies, principalities, and other fiefs created out of the conquered lands and given to the different powerful nobles among the Crusaders.

It was necessary for the Latin Empire to strengthen its base by gaining a firm footing in the Balkan lands, and the first move was directed against the newly formed Vallacho-Bulgarian State under Tsar Kaloyan (Ioanitza), who had invaded and annexed the territory of the self-governing Servian clans on the Struma and Vardar, capturing their ruler Dobromir Streza.

During that war Baldwin is defeated and killed, in 1207, and Tsar Kaloyan dies. Streza escaped from Bulgaria, and with the help of Stephan of Rashka retook his lands, placing them under the suzerainty of Rashka.

Those events brought Rashka into conflict with Hendrik of Flanders, son and successor of Baldwin, as Latin Emperor, and Tsar Boril, successor of Kaloyan, whose daughter Hendrik had married. The Latin Emperor and the Bulgarian Tsar made an alliance against Rashka, whose territory they invaded. But the sudden appearance in the sky at night, near Nish, of some phenomenal light caused a panic in the ranks of the allies, who took to their heels in terror and the campaign collapsed. The next move of the allies was to arrange for the co-operation of Dobromir Streza. The Servians, however, under that Prince's rule, were not willing to go out against Rashka, and they assassinated Streza instead.

The strength of Rashka, made by the general

160875

situation the natural ally of the Byzantine ruler at Nicea, caused a rearrangement of political combinations among the neighbouring States. Bulgaria fell out of line with the plans of Emperor Hendrik, who allied himself with Andreas, King of Hungary. A concerted attack on Rashka was planned for the spring of 1216.

Archimandrite Sava, brother of Stephan, was able by diplomatic means to break the alliance between Andreas and Hendrik and bring about a peace between the Hungarian King and the ruler of Rashka. Hendrik at that moment found his retreat cut off by Servian troops, but was allowed upon the intercession of Andreas to withdraw peacefully to Constantinople where he died some months later. With the death of this Emperor all danger to the Balkans from the Latin State disappeared.

Venice, which was rising brilliantly to the ascendant, undertook to lay hands on the strong, strategical points in the Balkans, and in this design was supported by the Pope, unceasingly bent upon the accomplishment of his own plan for the Romanisation of those lands.

The Servian States—Bosnia too weak to give more than moral aid to her sister State Rashka—were to be the chief objects of these efforts. The growing prestige of Rashka had given umbrage to the other Orthodox States Bulgaria and Epirus, who failed to discern that Rashka's interests were their own. With no other mainstay than the bending staff of Bosnian sympathy to count upon, the position

of the central Servian State became perilous. Stephan felt the necessity of conciliating the two predominating powers, Venice and the Pope. He married the granddaughter of Dandolo, Doge of Venice, and prayed the Pope to recognise him as Servian King, offering in return to establish papal Church-supremacy in Servian lands. The Pope despatched a papal legate, who crowned Stephan King of the Servians and began the reorganisation, according to the Roman hierarchy, of the Church in Rashka.

Archimandrite Sava, who had taken a great hand in the political and legislative affairs of the State, bitterly resented these innovations and left the country to return to Mount Athos. The resistance of the people and the opposition directed from without by Sava found voice in menaces to dethrone the King. Stephan negotiated with his brother, who then left Mount Athos for Nicea to see the Byzantine Emperor and the œcumenical head of the Orthodox Church. Sava obtained from them the establishment of an independent and autocephalous Servian Orthodox Church of which Sava was consecrated Archbishop. He then returned to Rashka where, with the assent of his brother and the State Assembly, he organised the Servian National Orthodox Church, establishing bishoprics, Church districts, and parishes. He unified and reformed also the Church ritual. Sava completed his work, laying so firm a basis that the Servian Church became identified with Servian nationality, forming part of the structure of the mediæval State, and afterward, during the dark centuries of Turkish domination, was the centre and

conservator of national life—a character and mission which it still maintains at the present time.

In 1220, on Ascension Day, Archbishop Sava, as first head of the new National Servian Church, recrowned his brother Stephan, who, in virtue of that Servian coronation, bore the title of "First-Crowned." In 1224 Stephan died leaving his throne to his eldest son, Stephan Vladislav, who was married to the daughter of Theodor Angelos, Despot of Epirus.

Despot Angelos was the strongest pretender to the throne of Byzance, and after driving the Latins out of Salonika and forcing them back toward Constantinople, the Archbishop of Ochrida anointed and crowned him Byzantine Emperor in 1222. Angelos, in pressing eastward, came into shock with the Bulgarians under Tsar John Asen II, who defeated him in 1230, solving, incidentally, the question of succession to the Byzantine throne in favour of Nicea.

The Servian King, Stephan Radoslav, was a weak ruler entirely under the domination of his Greek wife, who had earned the dislike of the people of Rashka. In 1233 King Radoslav was dethroned, retiring to a monastery, and his brother, Stephan Vladislav, was proclaimed King and crowned by Sava, who also brought about good relations between Bulgaria and Rashka and an understanding strengthened by the marriage of King Stephan Vladislav with the daughter of Asen II.

Sava resigned his office of archbishop and made his second pilgrimage to the tomb of Christ at Jeru-

salem. This grand old prelate, statesman, and lover of literature and learning was never more to set eyes on his native land. On his return from the Holy Land, passing through Bulgaria where he was a guest of the ruler, John Asen, and the Bulgarian Patriarch, he died at Trnovo.

The Bulgarian ruler, the Patriarch, and the people desired to retain possession of the ashes of St. Sava, and the Servian King, Stephan Vladislav, found it necessary to act with secrecy when he finally succeeded in carrying the body back to Rashka, where he laid it to rest at Mileshevo Monastery in the month of May, 1237. The tomb of St. Sava was an object of veneration and a source of inspiration to the Servian people throughout the centuries. In April, 1595, the Turks, as a measure of repressing a revolt called the "insurrection of St. Sava," brought the Servian saint's body to Belgrade and publicly burned it outside of the city on the ridge called Vratchar.

Contrary to the expectation of the Turks, based on an Asiatic superstition, that act increased the potency of St. Sava's memory with double force. He had been to the Servians the sainted founder of spiritual, national, and intellectual institutions; he became thenceforth a beloved martyr.

In the early thirteenth century Bogomilism had spread through Bosnia and rapidly crossed the borders into southern Hungary and Croatia, then to northern Italy, and thence into France, extending into England. This penetration all over Europe of

the Bogomil teaching brought from the Pope, in 1221–22, a call to all the powers of Europe to unite in a crusade against Bosnia for the complete eradication of the heresy and the subjection of the populations.

The religious enthusiasm which leapt forth in answer to the call to the First Crusade, fired by the sacred fervour of Peter the Hermit and the still-enduring faith which led the early crusades to the Tomb of Christ, died down in the later crusades, the inspiration becoming by degrees corrupted with visions of material gain—lust for the golden treasure strewing the Oriental way, and finally giving place to gross and sordid greed, making of the late crusades little less than great plundering expeditions organised on a vast scale, stopping to pillage wherever the spoils were commensurate. The Pope's call to go to Bosnia found the various States occupied with their own political problems; besides which there was no rich booty in Bosnia. The papal appeal fell flat. Finally the Archbishop of Kalocsa, in Hungary, offered the Pope, in return for stipulated privileges, to raise an army for the subjection of Bosnia, but his efforts were also in vain and collapsed in 1224.

In 1232 the Bogomils in Bosnia dethroned the Catholic, Stephan Koulinovitch, son of Ban Koulin (1204–32), and set up in his stead the Bogomil Mathias Ninoslav (1232–50). Bogomilism at that time was reinforced by the voluntary conversion of the Roman Catholic Bishop, who had been sent to Bosnia by the Pope to suppress the heresy. He and the greater part of his clergy went over to Bogomilism

en bloc; the shock to Rome was great. Ban Ninoslav, fearing reprisals, opened conciliatory negotiations with the Pope which, however, came to no result.

A new crusade against Bosnia was proclaimed from Rome offering extraordinary indulgences. Under the lead of the King of Hungary, the crusading army during five years battled to invade Bosnia but with no success. Finally, with the help of Sebislav, son of the dethroned Ban Stephan Koulinovich, who was Knez of the Oussora district in northern Bosnia bordering Hungary, the invaders were able to force a way into Bosnia, which was occupied in 1237. The King of Hungary at the same time pressed farther on to Zahoumlyia which he took from Rashka.

The Hungarian King divided up the conquered country into feudal estates which he conferred upon the Hungarian nobility and the Catholic clergy, forcing the Bogomils to become Catholics; those who resisted were made to feel the full heaviness of the Hungarian hand.

The Pope sent into Bosnia hosts of Dominican monks to take ecclesiastical possession of the country. They went with the mission to erect churches and fortresses and to set up the stake.

In the beginning of 1239 the Hungarian King was obliged by the Tartaric menace to withdraw the greater part of his troops from Bosnia, which was a signal for the Bosnians to rise and drive out the monks, the Hungarian officials, and the new feudal nobility and re-establish their own institutions under their former Ban Ninoslav.

In 1241 the Tartars entered Hungary, sweeping

the Hungarian army out of existence, a part of the hordes pursuing the Hungarian King to Dalmatia, passing thence through Bosnia, Rashka, and Bulgaria, across the Danube, and back to the Orient. These circumstances forced Bela IV of Hungary to make peace with Ban Ninoslav.

In Rashka the Servian King, Stephan Vladislav, had through different land dealings and other measures incurred the opposition of his people and the National Assembly, which dethroned him in 1242, proclaimed his brother Stephan Ourosh I, called "the great," who ruled for thirty-three years. The deposed Vladislav went to Ragusa, and soon afterward his brother Ourosh conferred upon him the administration of Zeta, where he remained until his death in 1269.

In 1246 the Bogomils were stronger than ever in Bosnia. Hungary being engaged in war with Frederic II of Austria, a new crusade called for against Bosnia by the Pope met with no response. Ban Ninoslav, in the course of negotiations with the Pope, obtained for the Servian and Croat Roman Catholics the privilege of having their ritual and Church services in their own Slavonic tongue, and that their writings, religious and lay, should use the glagolitza Slavonic characters instead of the Latin.

This was a re-establishment of the state of things as they had been prior to the council at Spalato, 1059, when the Pope had supplanted the use of the Slavonic language by the Latin.

After the death of Ban Ninoslav in 1250, the lack of a strong central authority in Bosnia leads to a rekindling of all the old hatreds and rages of the past between Bogomils and Catholics, which brings in 1254 the intervention of the Hungarian King Bela, who occupies the northern districts of Oussora and Soli, out of which he creates a Banat under Bans of Hungarian appointment. He also forms a military Banat of Syrmia and the Matchva on the Sava River, Bosnia proper remaining under its own Bans.

In Rashka King Stephan Ourosh I, grandson of the great Nemanya, was ranking himself among the foremost Servian rulers. He was able to turn to the account of his country the various conditions of the time. He established the principle of subordinating ecclesiastical interests to those of the State, in regard to both Catholic and Orthodox Church, laid down fruitful economic and commercial policies, began the exploitation of mines on a large scale, and gave a strong impetus to the development of learning, literature and the arts, making stable and powerful the Servian State, which under his immediate successors was the dominant power in the Balkan Peninsula.

The Bulgarian State, after the death of John Asen, was enfeebled within and without, and the Servian King, Stephan Ourosh, was able to take a hand in Bulgarian politics.

Meanwhile the Latin Empire at Constantinople, a stranger in a strange land, left without support by its own people, turned weakly, now this way, now that, soon to be overtaken by the hour of its demise.

The Despot of Epirus and the Emperor at Nicea, who had already reconquered some Macedonian lands, engaged in a race as to who should first be in at the death and secure the Imperial throne at Constantinople.

In 1253, after a decenium of strained relations between Rashka and Ragusa, war broke out, provoked by territorial, economical, and commercial controversies. It became necessary for the Servian King to regulate once for all the commercial exploitation of Rashka by the Ragusans. Then there was the question of the Catholic Church; since the eleventh century the Signoria of Ragusa had wrought for the transference of the Roman Catholic Archbishopric of Bari—having jurisdiction over Servians—to Ragusa, involving Ragusan right of protection over all Servian Roman Catholics.

Ragusa had secured the military support of Bulgaria and Zahoumlyia, then under Hungarian overlordship. Ourosh won a victory over the three allies, each in turn, reannexing Zahoumlyia to Rashka. The great events which began to dawn in the eastern part of the peninsula made necessary to Ourosh a speedy termination of activities in the west. Having through a peace with Ragusa and Bulgaria attained the objects of his expedition, he turned his attention eastward, reserving action for an opportunity to serve the interests of Rashka with Servian intervention.

The Niceans, under the Emperor Lascaris, were in eastern Macedonia and had beaten back the Bulgarians. King Ourosh joined the alliance that had been formed against Lascaris, between the Despot of

Epirus, Michael II, and Manfred of Sicily. The three allies, after some first sweeping successes, lost what they had won, in 1259, Ourosh only having attained a small rectification of border to Servian profit.

In the same year Michael VIII, Paleologue, overthrew the authority of Lascaris and usurped the Nicean-Byzantine throne. Paleologue two years later, without a stroke of the sword, entered Constantinople, the Latin Empire having faded away. For still two hundred years Byzantine Emperors ruled at Constantinople, but never again with the ancient magnificence; weakened by the Latin crusades and internal decadence, they were no longer able to barricade the way of Asiatic invasion westward.

In 1258 the Bulgarian Ruler, Michael Asen, son-in-law of King Ourosh, had been assassinated, and the Servian King intervened in the ensuing quarrels of succession, putting on the throne of Bulgaria his cousin Constantine, grandson of Stephan Nemanya.

After the re-establishment of the Byzantine Empire at Constantinople, the first move of King Ourosh was to secure Rashka from attack at the back by entering with the King of Hungary into friendly understanding, which was consecrated by the marriage of his son Dragoutin to the granddaughter of the Hungarian King Bela IV. That princess Elizabeth received as dowry from Hungary the Banats of Matchva, northern Bosnia, and Syrmia.

In 1266 Charles d'Anjou mounts the throne of Sicily and obtains from Baldwin II the reversion of pretension to the Latin throne. Charles d'Anjou

then entered into negotiations for alliance, for the purpose of regaining, Constantinople, with the King of Hungary, his relative, and with the Servian King, whose Queen, Elena, was his cousin. The preparations for the campaign dragged and resulted in no action.

Under Hungarian influence Dragoutin was pushed to ask of his father, the Servian King, a portion of Rashkan lands to rule.

Upon the refusal of Ourosh to divide up the Servian State, Dragoutin brought troops from Hungary, and in a surprise attack on his father near Gatzko, in 1276, won the battle and seized the Servian throne. The old King retired to Zahoumlyia, where he entered holy orders and soon died.

King Stephan Dragoutin in 1281 joined the allies, Charles d'Anjou and the Despot of Epirus, in a campaign against Byzance, which a few months later ended in failure and some loss of Rashkan territory.

Those losses and the Servian King's failure to intervene in Bulgaria were made the subject of reproach in the National Assembly, which recalled his actions against his father. Moved with remorse, he ceded the throne of Rashka, in 1282, to his younger brother Miloutin on condition that on the death of Miloutin it should revert to Dragoutin's son Vladislav.

Dragoutin reserved for himself only the district of Roudnik, to which he retired, forming with it and the dower territories of his wife a State over which he ruled as King of Syrmia. He died in 1316.

5. SERVIAN POWER PREDOMINANT IN THE BALKANS

King Stephan Ourosh II Miloutin (1282–1321), although ambitiously devoted to the interests of Rashka and possessed of great daring, was not endowed with the superlative order of sagacity which would have enabled him to profit fully by the circumstances of the time. Under his reign, however, the Servian State, in course of uninterrupted progress, became the dominant power in the Balkans.

The Sicilian Vespers having driven Charles d'Anjou out of Sicily, he was no longer a factor in the alliance, whose remaining members were King Miloutin and Joan Angelos, Despot of Thessally. King Miloutin, after the undecided result of the campaign of 1282, was able in 1283 to win a decisive victory over the Byzantines and to annex the Servian districts on the upper Vardar and Strouma Rivers; the year following he pushed his successes farther eastward, adding to his realm large stretches of Serb-inhabited territory.

Meanwhile a new invasion of Tartars had poured into Bulgaria, the larger and eastern part of which they held in direct subjection, setting up as their vassal in the western part at Vidin, Shishman, a Bulgarian of royal descent.

In 1285 the Tartars and Bulgarians attacked Rashka, but were driven back by King Miloutin who followed up his advantage by the occupation of Vidin.

King Miloutin, who had overthrown Shishman, added a part of the lands to Servian territory, and rebestowed upon Shishman, as Servian vassal, Vidin and

its district to hold as a military fief in defence against the Tartars. He also entered into diplomatic negotiations with the Tartars, temporising with them until about 1293, when civil war among the Tartars themselves annulled their danger to foreign countries.

King Miloutin then took up again the Rashkan policy of advance against Byzance, aiming at the annexation of all Serb-inhabited territory, and in 1299 Byzance, for the first time in Macedonian history, was obliged to sue for peace and accept the terms dictated by the Servian Sovereign.

King Miloutin's statesmanship failed to grasp the full value of the opportunity he had won, and he committed the further fault of taking to wife the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos II.

In Hungary the question of succession to the throne had provoked civil war, in which the Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Paul Shoubich, and his brothers supported the pretension of Charles Robert d'Anjou, and with the assent of D'Anjou, Shoubich took Bosnia in 1298, placing his son Mladen on the throne as Ban.

Philip, Prince of Taranto, son of King Charles of Naples, had received from his father cession of the Neapolitan pretensions to Albania, and went against Durazzo, which he took from King Miloutin in 1305.

In 1308 the Servian King consented to enter the alliance offered him by Charles de Valois, brother of Philip le Bel of France, for the reconquest of Constantinople in the name of the Latin Empire. In

return for that support Miloutin received cession of the Latin claims to all the Serb-inhabited territories in Byzance. These preparations came to no practical result. During the whole course of their negotiations King Miloutin had not interrupted his friendly relations with the Byzantine Emperor, whom he had even helped with troops in Asia Minor.

At that moment arose discontent among the Servians, who resented the Greek influence at Court, and considered that the political interests of Rashka were compromised by King Miloutin's inadequate and feeble statesmanship much influenced by his Greek Queen.

The public feeling culminated in an attempt to dethrone Miloutin in favour of Stephan, son of his first marriage, who was administrator of Zeta.

By a swift move King Miloutin entered Zeta and made his son Stephan prisoner, sending him under exile, with his two sons, Doushan—afterward "the Great"—and Doushitza, to the Byzantine Emperor at Constantinople. Miloutin's Queen Simonida had given secret orders that on the way Stephan's eyes should be put out with a red-hot sword, hoping that her own son Constantine would so become heir to the throne.

After the death in 1316 of Dragoutin, King of Syrmia, Miloutin moved to occupy Dragoutin's territory which he wished to annex to Rashka. He was able to take the lands south of the Danube and the Sava and east of the Drina. Syrmia and Slavonia had been immediately occupied by Charles Robert, King of Hungary. The Bosnian parts of Dragoutin's

State were taken by Mladen Shoubich, who in 1312 had succeeded his brother Paul as Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia. Ban Mladen Shoubich then made peace with the great Bosnian nobleman Stephan Kotroman, son-in-law of the late King Dragoutin. When Stephan Kotroman died Mladen Shoubich gave reunited Bosnia, under Croatian suzerainty, to the infant son of Kotroman, Stephan Kotromanich, whose mother Elizabeth, daughter of Dragoutin, was made regent.

The ever-augmenting power of Rashka called forth a coalition against King Miloutin, composed of Charles Robert, King of Hungary, Mladen Shoubich, Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, and Prince Philip of Taranto. This alliance brought advantage only to the King of Hungary, who invaded and annexed districts of Matchva, though not without some recompense having been gained by King Miloutin who took several districts in Albania.

King Miloutin died in 1321 and was buried first at the monastery of Banyska, on Kossovo Plain, then was later transferred to Sophia, now in Bulgaria, where he still reposes.

Miloutin's eldest son, Stephan Ourosh III "Detchanski," who had returned from Constantinople, mounted the throne, but his right to succeed was contested by both Constantine, his younger half-brother, and Vladislav, his cousin, son of King Dragoutin of Syrmia.

In Croatia the height to which Ban Mladen Shoubich had risen with the State provoked the personal

jealousy of a rival noble family, the Kouryiakovich, who leagued against him his cousin Paul and Stephan Kotromanich, Ban of Bosnia, who succeeded in overthrowing him. Mladen took refuge with the King of Hungary, who, instead of giving him aid, made him a prisoner. The Hungarian Ruler set about regaining Croatia and Dalmatia, in which he asked the help of the Ban of Bosnia, who was quick to respond and glad to have a hand in the affairs of Dalmatia and Croatia.

In Rashka, Constantine, in an armed attempt to wrest the Servian throne from his half-brother Stephan Detchanski, lost his life.

During a Byzantine dynastic struggle in Constantinople, appeals for support were sent from the two rival parties, one to Bulgaria and the other to Rashka, who were then beginning to realise that a contest was imminent between Bulgar and Serb for supremacy in the Vardar and Strouma valleys, and that the future might hold the same rivalry in regard to the possession of Constantinople.

King Stephan Detchanski, still in some danger from the attempt of Vladislav, temporised with Bulgaria by dealings carried on through the Servian Archbishop Danilo. Vladislav saw in the brewing storm between Bulgaria and Rashka, advantage to himself, and securing the support of the Ban of Bosnia, his nephew, renewed his fight with the Servian King for the throne of Rashka. He was beaten by Stephan's troops and forced to take flight into Hungary, where he died, the districts he had held

being annexed by Rashka. Ban Kotromanich, in revenge, fell upon Zahoumlyia, which he added to Bosnia.

In the dynastic civil war at Constantinople the Servian King sided with Andronikos III, while the Bulgarians supported Andronikos II. When Detchanski's Servian troops, under Voyvoda Hrelyia,[1] appeared on the scene they found Andronikos III already seated on the throne, having won the day with his own forces. The march into Byzantine territory had not for that been a lost effort, as Voyvoda Hrelyia and his men had, incidentally, on the way rectified Servian borders at the expense of Byzance.

The steady and menacing progress of Rashka was met by an alliance between Byzance and Bulgaria for the offensive against the Servian State.

During the war preparations in Constantinople, Bulgaria, and Rashka, which were to decide the destiny of Macedonia up to the time of the Turkish invasion, Hungary for the moment in alliance with Bosnia was in conflict with Croatia and Dalmatia; Venice was also fully occupied establishing her mastery of the Dalmatian coast.

In the interior of Bosnia, where since the middle of the thirteenth century the Servian Orthodox Church had made great progress, the Ban himself being orthodox, the Papal Curia was engaged in unceasing and intense efforts for the eradication of both Bogomilism and Orthodoxy. These endeav-

[1] He built Rilo Monastery.

ours were halted for several years by occurrences within the Roman fold itself. A sharp strife arose between the monks of the Dominican order and those of the Franciscan, allowing the strengthening of the Orthodox hold and the rapid and far spread of Bogomilism.

Meanwhile the hour of decisive conflict approached between Serb and Bulgar for Balkan supremacy. An alliance against Rashka was formed by Bulgaria, Vallachia, and Byzance, whose forces at once took the field.

Before the Servian King lay the strategic task to prevent the junction of the Bulgarian with the Byzantine army and to meet and defeat each one separately. Under the supposition that the Bulgarians would, from Vidin as base, strike southward to make junction with the Byzantines, the Servian King concentrated his troops at Nish. On receiving news that the Bulgarians were marching toward the Vardar Valley and were already north of Sophia, King Stephan Detchanski made a rapid move in the direction of Kustendil (Velbuzhd), where he arrived in time to bar the road to the Bulgarian army, and delivered battle on June 28, 1330. The Bulgarians were thoroughly routed and pursued northward by a part of the Servian army. The extent of this defeat and its moral results were so overwhelming that the Bulgarian castles and fortresses throughout Bulgaria opened their gates to the Servians without any attempt at resistance, the Bulgar nobles offering the complete submission of Bulgaria to Servia. The

triumph at Velbuzhd was due in great measure to the brilliant feats of the Servian advance force under the command of the youthful Doushan, heir to the throne, who, as Emperor Doushan, was to raise the Servian State to its highest grandeur.

Failing to exact the full value of his great victory, King Stephan Detchanski satisfied himself with a rectification of border in the south, and the return of Vidin under Rashkan administration, setting on the throne of Bulgaria Stephan Shishmanovich, his own nephew, son of Tsar Michael, who was killed at Velbuzhd. After the Bulgarian disaster the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos withdrew his troops and offered terms of peace which were accepted by Stephan Detchanski.

The Servian court was at that time full of Greek intrigue headed by the Greek Queen, Detchanski's second wife, who was plotting to put her own son in the place of Doushan, heir to the throne, son of Detchanski's first Queen.

The situation was a repetition of that at the court of Detchanski's father, King Miloutin, whose cruel Greek Queen had tried to rob Detchanski of his throne and his life and had ordered his eyes to be burned out.

The Servian people had at first acclaimed the victory of Velbuzhd with pride and rejoicing, but when by degrees it became known that the King had taken no adequate advantage of the triumph over the Bulgarians and had neither sought to punish the Byzantine Emperor nor asked from him any compensation, the general discontent with Greek influences at Court

crystallised into revolt. A rising headed by many of the nobles seized the King and imprisoned him at the Grad of Zvetchan, proclaiming his heir Doushan as King in September, 1331. Some noblemen of Zeta, moved it is said by personal motives, fearing a reconciliation between father and son, secretly murdered the dethroned monarch. The perpetrators of that crime met with severest punishment from Doushan, whose loyalty and devotion to his father had always been profound.

6. SERVIAN EMPIRE

With King, afterward Emperor, Stephan Doushan (1331–55) mediæval Servia reached the zenith of its power, Doushan being reckoned among the greatest Serb rulers. He was able to guide the State to a realisation of the ideals which had led the Serb people on through the preceding centuries. Of keen insight and swift to profit by advantages gained, yet coming short of the profoundest political wisdom, it has been said of him that while he appreciated fully the value of organisation, his genius was not that of an organiser.

Doushan was twenty-two years of age on ascending the throne. His wife Elena was a Servian noblewoman, sister of John Stratimirovich who had seized the Bulgarian throne. The first act of the young King was to enter and occupy Macedonia and besiege Salonika. But under the pressure of a threatened war against Rashka on the part of the King of Hungary, Doushan was obliged to make peace with Byzance. By this campaign he had added to Ser-

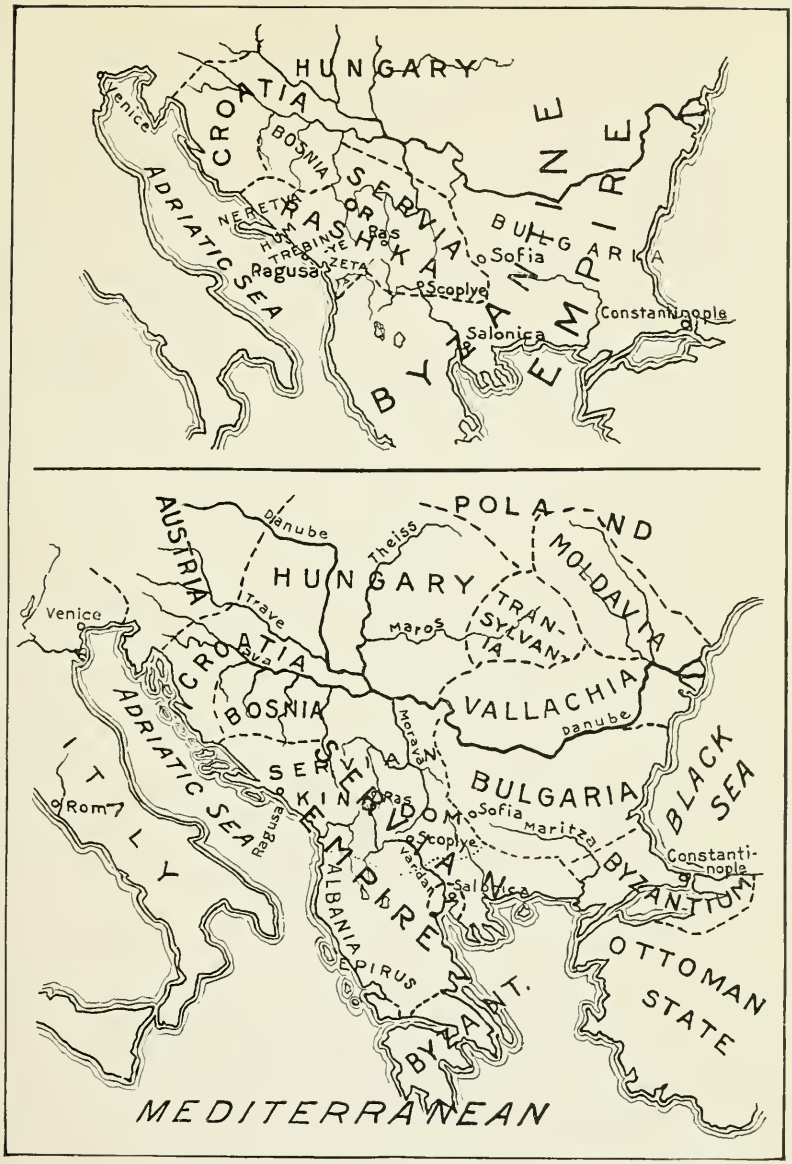
vian territory the basins of Ochrida and Monastir in the south. The Hungarians had penetrated the Servian country as far as Zitcha before he could turn against them. There he beat them in battle and drove them back across the Danube and the Sava Rivers. Two years later he began a three years' campaign to thoroughly put down the unceasing Albanian raids on the Servian south-western border. At the end of that time he had subdued and annexed the territory up to Yannina and was proclaimed by the inhabitants as King of the Albanians, his style becoming thereby, "King of the Serbs and Albanians."

The death of the Emperor Andronikos III, in 1341, was the beginning in Byzance of a long period of bloodshed and anarchy resulting from civil war over the succession to the throne. These strifes were the death throes of the already weakened Empire.

Kantakouzene, the regent for the Child-Emperor Yoannis, V, Andronikos, was utterly unscrupulous, inspired only by narrow, self-seeking considerations, and actuated solely by a desire for personal fame which reached the point of mania. The acts by which he sought to seize authority and gain his ends, oblivious of all interests of the State and blind even to his own real advantage, were those of a mind and conscience equally diseased. He quarrelled with the Empress-Mother, left Constantinople, and proclaimed himself Byzantine Emperor at Demotika.

The Servian King Doushan was ready to intervene, when he was approached in 1342 by Kantakouzene, who offered, in return for military help against

Servian Kingdom in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.



Servian Empire, Fourteenth Century.

Andronikos, to confirm as Servian possessions all territory which Doushan might be able during the proposed campaign to occupy.

That arrangement, subject to the constant attempts of the Empress-Mother at Constantinople to induce the Servian King to support the cause of her young son, and Doushan's dissatisfaction with the methods of Kantakouzene, was terminated after the span of a few months. Before this change of situation had become known at the Servian court, Kantakouzene, during the absence of the Servian King on a hunting expedition, resorted to a swiftly executed trick by which he was able to obtain the services of Doushan's royal guard, in which were many knights from foreign lands under the command of a German (Swiss) knight named Palman Bracht. With those soldiers he fell upon several places within Servian borders which he plundered in rapid succession.

King Doushan at once joined forces with the Empress-Mother. Kantakouzene, ambition-blind, and bent upon attaining his goal at any cost, called in the military help of the Turks, who had never yet appeared in Europe. He offered them the same terms previously pledged to Servia, and as additional guarantee the Byzantine adventurer did not hesitate to give over his young daughter to the harem of Sultan Ourkhan III.

In a first attempt, in 1344, the Turks had been able to ambush and destroy a part of Doushan's army, but they were not able to break the Servian front, and by 1345 the Servian King had occupied all of Macedonia up to and beyond the river Mesta.

At that time Servia's borders had been extended to include, in addition to the Rashka of King Stephan Detchanski, all of Macedonia (except Salonika), part of Thracia, all of Albania and Epirus. In Doushan's hands were the greater part of the former Byzantine territories in Europe, which were thereby limited to Constantinople and eastern Thracia. Bulgaria was a Servian protectorate.

In the autumn of the same year (1345), at Seres, Doushan was proclaimed "Emperor of the Servians and Romanians" (Romans).

A Greek contemporary chronicle found in the Monastery of St. John Prodromos, near Seres, says: "When the Servian King came to Seres he went first to the Church of Saint Nicholas, where he prayed to God. After that prayer Stephan Doushan was proclaimed and called 'Emperor [Vasilevs] of the Servians and the Romanians, of the Bulgars and the Albanians.'"

At this monastery, frescoes, Doushan's portrait, and a Bull of privileges show the following inscription: "*Stephanos, en Hristos, to Theo pistos, Vasilevs, Autokrator, kai Servias, kai Romanias*" ("Stephan in Christ true to God, Emperor, Autocrat of the Servians and the Romanians" [Romans].[1]

Stoyan Novakovitch fixes the date of the proclamation as the "day of the Archangel Michael," in November, 1345.

A document in Latin (*Rad.*, LVIII, p. 21) refers to the Servian Emperor as "*Imperator Rascie et Romanie.*" Another document (*Glas.*, X, 86) refers to

[1] "Romanians," a corrupt term for Romans.

the Servian Empress as *Domina Helisabeta Imperatrix Romanie.*

That proclamation opened a new era of development to the Serb people, and was the public avowal of their ruler's vast design to supplant with a young and powerful Servian Empire the old Byzantine State which had fallen into ruins, and whose crumbling structure, already explored by the Turkish advance guard, had become a peril to the near Slavonic realms and a grave danger to all Europe.

Some months later, on the Easter Sunday following the ceremony at Seres, Doushan was crowned with magnificent state at Scoplyia (Uskub), April 16, 1346, by the Servian Patriarch Iannikiya, there being present also the Bulgarian Patriarch of Tirnovo and the Archbishop Metropolitan of Ochrida Nicola, and the whole Servian State's Assembly, among whose members were representatives of Albania, Epirus, and Macedonia. The Emperor Doushan's young son Ourosh was at the same moment crowned King and heir to the throne.[1]

Prior to the Imperial coronation the Servian Assembly had proclaimed the Servian Archbishop and Metropolitan as Servian Patriarch.

The Greek Patriarch at Constantinople at a later date protested against that elevation of the head of the Servian Church to the dignity of Patriarch, disputing the canonical legality of the act, and in 1352 pronounced anathema against the Servian Emperor, the Patriarch, and the National Assembly.

As time went on both sides of this technical ecclesi-

[1] See frontispiece.

astical dispute found adherents among the Emperor's subjects; those holding with the Œcumenical (Greek) Patriarch and opposed to the act of creating a Servian Patriarch were inhabitants for the most part of the lands lying nearest eastward toward Constantinople.

During the wars of Doushan with Byzance, Bosnia, the western Serbian State, was in continual armed conflict with her neighbours. The King of Hungary, Ludwig, son of Charles Robert, had been waging successful campaigns against Venice and Croatia-Dalmatia. Alarmed at the power of Doushan's Empire, which he conceived of as threatening to Hungarian ambitions, he was able to convert the Ban of Bosnia to his views, and began to plan a war against Rashka.

Doushan, in the years 1346–47–48, had added to the Servian Empire Etolia, Acarnania, and Thessaly, Kantakouzene, who had occupied Constantinople in 1347, being unable to oppose the Servian Emperor's advance.

Acting in harmony with the plans of the Hungarian King, the Ban of Bosnia attacked the Rashkan border (1349) but without success. During that year the Servian National Assembly sitting at Scoplyia promulgated the "Zakonik," which was the codification of the old laws and ordinances of the Servian National Assemblies and Rulers since before the time of Nemanya, and the registration in fixed form of the old customary laws and usages. This work, called the

"Codex of Doushan," was amplified by additional laws by the National Assembly, holding session at Seres, in 1354.

Meanwhile the civil war in Byzance went on in desultory fashion between Kantakouzene and Ioannes, the young Emperor at Constantinople. Ioannes in 1352 entered into alliance with the Bulgarian Ruler Tsar Alexander and the Servian Emperor Doushan against Kantakouzene and the Turks.

The allies met the Turks near Demotika. Before the beginning of the battle the Bulgarians, finding the Turks between them and their allies, took panic and fled. The Serbs and the Byzantines, who were far outnumbered by the Turks, engaged in a fiercely contested fight but were defeated.

In the north the Hungarians in 1353, under King Ludwig, penetrated Servian territory but were met by Doushan who drove them back across the Danube and the Sava Rivers.

In Bosnia Ban Kotromanitch had died and was succeeded by his nephew Tvrtko, a boy under age.

The Turks had already gained a firm foothold on the shores of the Balkan Peninsula. The danger to all Christendom of their advent was apparent, and the Pope began to organise resistance to their progress. Into those plans entered the Servian Emperor who, finding himself pressed on two sides at once between Turk and Hungarian, felt it advisable, as a means of ridding himself of the Hungarians, to negotiate sympathetically with the Pope.

The Pope held the Hungarians in leash, but in the course of the dealings between him and the Servian Emperor it was demanded that the Servian people should renounce their national church and become Roman Catholics. That was a condition to which neither Doushan nor the Servian nation could ever subscribe. The negotiations came to an end and the Pope turned loose the King of Hungary against Servia.

Fortunately for Doushan at that moment the truce expired between Venice and Hungary, whose efforts became fully occupied with events on her western and south-western borders.

The Servian ruler, in pursuance of his plan to occupy Constantinople, entered into an alliance with Venice, thus securing the Servian rear. Neither Venice nor the Pope, however, desired to see the Serb rule with a strong Orthodox State established on the Bosphorus.

Doushan progressed toward Constantinople, his occupation of which was imminent. Suddenly on the road, at a small Thracian village called Diavolo, the Servian Emperor was seized with fever and violent pains, and died, having not yet completed his forty-fifth year.

The chronicler Koporinski writes that Doushan died on December 20, 1355, "with pains as if he had been poisoned," and says further: "it was supposed that the poison was administered by either Venetian or Papal people."

This last march of the Servian Emperor was sung by the people in their songs of the "Deeds of Doushan"

"Doushan gathered a mighty army

. . . . . .

But when the Imperial city was near—
There the Day of Doom found Doushan." [1]

The Servian Empress Elena, who was in the camp at Diavolo, brought back Doushan's body to the Church of the Archangel Michael, at Prisren, where the dead Emperor still sleeps.

Elena then led the Servian armies against the Turkish and Byzantine troops, which she defeated near Phillipi. That victory advanced somewhat the Servian borders, but the general situation which arose, imposing upon the Servian Empress administrative duties in the interests of her young son, made it necessary for her to abandon the campaign in the field.

With the death of Doushan the day of Servian glory began to decline. Under Doushan's rule, with far extension of borders, the administrative districts had been reorganised into provinces, which were in reality small States. With him at the helm, central authority was strong, able to maintain discipline among the governors, capable of holding in good equilibrium the centralising and separatist tendencies, and the Servian Empire was mighty.

It had already been seen, under several reigns prior to that of Doushan, that the National Assembly had on occasions come near to destroying that equal balance in its own favour. Strong party strifes in regard to foreign and interior policy had been manifested.

[1] From old Servian epic songs of the people.

Ourosh, the young son of Doushan, who succeeded to the throne, was utterly devoid of the talent to rule. He was a scholar but no statesman; and while of a saintly disposition, he belonged rather to the type of the world-fearing mediæval ascetic than to the race of full-blooded men born to command armies and bind States within an empire in magnetic cohesion,—like Saint Sava, Nemanya, or his own Emperor-father. The genius of those mighty forebears would have been required to meet and solve the important and complicated issues, both interior and foreign, which awaited the shrinking young Ruler.

The Byzantines, although powerless to undertake a great campaign of conquest, intrigued to encourage disaffection in those south-westerly provinces like Thessaly and Epirus which had not yet had time to forget the centuries during which they had looked to Byzance as Lord.

The war still going on with Hungary ended in 1358 with the loss to Servia of Matchva. Owing to the disinclination of the young Emperor to wield the sceptre, the governors of the provinces had to shift for themselves and accept individual responsibility, which some among them, under influence of western feudalistic ideas, were not slow to put down as "so much to the good" toward independent rule.

The first move made by members of the Imperial family to avert the threatened disruption by deposing Ourosh was an attempt by Simeon, uncle of Ourosh, to put himself on the throne. That Prince, younger brother of Doushan, however, was much disliked and unable to find sufficient support.

The question of the Greek Patriarchal anathema against the Servian Church had remained latent as a fruitful source of contention—a ready shibboleth in the hands of discontents or those ambitious to have a throw with fortune. The State was torn with dissensions over two subjects which divided the Assembly and the people into two bitterly opposed camps: the question of centralisation as against the feudal ideas, "new" to Servia and the question of the ecclesiastical policy which had called forth the anathema.

Those standing by Doushan's act in creating, independently, a Servian Patriarch were for letting the Greek pretension to superior Divine mandate go overboard, staking all on national interests and necessity; those adherents of the Serb Patriarchat were generally the inhabitants of the old Rashkan provinces, while their opponents, found chiefly among the population of the more newly annexed regions, joined the cry against innovation and "departure from the ancient procedure followed by Saint Sava."

During the ten years of Ourosh's reign, Voukashin Mrnyavtchevich, a nobleman, who had been Zhupan of Prilep under Doushan, had fortified himself in a considerable region of the Empire. He had by degrees asked and obtained from Ourosh, for himself and various members of his own family, the administration of all the provinces south of the Shar Dagh Mountains—most of Macedonia.

Finally, in the year 1366, in the last days of November, Voukashin and his relatives revolted against Ourosh, proclaiming himself King, in the name of a demand for strong central government, and repudi-

ating the canonical status of the Servian Patriarch. The inhabitants of the lands under him and his relatives ranged themselves on the side of ecclesiastical tradition and the Patriarch at Constantinople. Voukashin was never crowned King, but continued warring on Servian borders in vain attempts to overthrow the Emperor Ourosh.

During these events in Servia Bosnia was also passing through a critical period. So long as Rashka (the Serb Empire) was powerful, Bosnian independence was safe from Hungary, whose policy was not to come to conclusions with the western Serb State, but to pit her against the Empire, appealing to individual ambition and any other human consideration that would secure Bosnian co-operation against Servia.

But after the death of Ourosh the weakened condition of the Servian Empire, which through its interior strifes and the decline and destruction of central authority grew more and more to be a "house divided against itself," made it apparent to the King of Hungary that gentle forms of process were no longer necessary in dealings with Bosnia, whom he designed to drive forthwith into Hungarian possession.

The peace with Venice had given him Dalmatia, and from that territory he entered Zahoumlyia, forcing Tvrtko to recognise Hungarian suzerainty under terms which made of that country practically a Hungarian province. With the view of still further consolidating that possession, which stood ready at the first occasion to slip the yoke, King

Ludwig instigated some of the nobles to revolt against Tvrtko. The Hungarian King had supposed that in the civil war which resulted from these intrigues the discontented Servian nobles would turn to him. But it happened otherwise, and the Hungarian grip was even loosened. Ludwig then invaded Bosnia with troops, under the pretext of attacking Bogomilism, but in reality to quell the rising and re-establish the authority of Tvrtko.

When, under Hungarian demand, Tvrtko began to put pressure on the Bogomils and to countenance the persecutions against them, the Bosnian people rose and drove him out, setting up his younger brother in his stead. He was able, however, to regain the throne; and with his mother's advice, he set himself to the task of undoing the mischief wrought by the Hungarian intrigues and of counteracting their effect. In these endeavours he was successful, and finally made firm his throne. He was the first ruler to harmonise the conflicting elements in Bosnia into a strong State.

Tvrtko saw the necessity for Bosnia as an independent State to extend her authority over the narrow strip of land between her western border-line and the sea's edge.

The death, in Servia, of Emperor Ourosh, December 2, 1371, brought Tvrtko, as a grandson of Elizabeth, daughter of the Servian King Dragoutin, into near line of succession to the Servian throne and influenced the course of his policies.

It entered into the conceptions of Tvrtko to supplant the other Nemaniad heirs to the Servian

throne, join Bosnia to greater Rashka, and turn the development of the Serb Empire from its easterly trend and direct it toward the west, making it include and represent in this way all of the Serb States and regions, thereby creating a more comprehensive and complete unification of Servians than had ever been wholly accomplished by the former great Nemaniad rulers.

The aim of those rulers, half-conscious at first, then clearly and strongly defined with Doushan, had been to grow toward the east. Doushan's plan was to create a Serbo Byzantine Empire. He understood the vast importance, since then expressed by Napoleon and others, of the possession of Constantinople.

The design of Tvrtko to join in one the eastern and western greater Serb States was more immediately national in character than had been that of his Imperial cousin, but throwing toward the west the main weight of territory and thus displacing from the Servian centre the great international highway forming Europe's line of gravity eastward, Tvrtko's State, noble as was its aim, would have involved the loss to the Servians of their most precious possession, the gateway between Europe and the Orient, which is the commanding strategic position of the Balkan Peninsula.

On the other hand the Serbo-Byzantin Empire of Doushan's dream, safeguarding that strategic position, was a majestic political formation, whose ultimate and inevitable result would have been, none the less, the inclusion of the western Serb lands, and which, far more spacious in its stretches, would have given

large and free room for the normal development of an enduring national structure of world-importance.

In Tvrtko's first move toward attaining his purpose of making himself the Imperial heir, he was supported by the King of Hungary, who thought by that means to put in his hands a sword of cleavage which should cut the Serb lands in two forever dissevering Servian power, and making wounds between brothers never to be healed.

Contrary to the Hungarian calculations, Tvrtko's plan met with no opposition from the strongest of the Rashkan Princes, Knez Lazar Hrebelianovich. Those two Servian Rulers, on the contrary, worked during the entire period of their reigns in harmony toward the same end which was the upbuilding of Servian strength.

The death of Emperor Ourosh, who was childless, left the State without an executive head. For many centuries the rule had descended in unbroken dynastic line without the necessity for election which had come to be merely an act of confirmation by the National Assembly. The powerful territorial administrators had come to be nearly independent, their status fast approaching that of the feudal princes of Western Europe. With Tvrtko of Bosnia, four of their number were in different degrees, through blood ties, eligible as candidates for the imperial throne, and the claims of each found foreign support.

The Pope had offered to help Balsha, Ruler of Zeta, in return for Balsha's conversion to Roman Catholicism and promise to put the Servian lands

under Rome in event of success; to the north and eastward of Zeta, Altomanovich had seized the adjoining principalities of his two cousins the Voynovich and, encouraged secretly by Hungary, tried to strengthen himself by an alliance with Balsha. Tvrtko in Bosnia was assured of the support of Hungary, who also on the other side proposed help to Knez Lazar Hrebelianovich, who was administrator of territory corresponding in main to that of the modern Kingdom of Servia. The most powerful of those princely administrators were Tvrtko, whose large ambition seemed not ill-justified, and Lazar.

Knez Lazar saw the peril of attempting to elect an Emperor by convoking an Assembly among whose most powerful members would be the rival claimants for the throne. Each one of those princes would head factions whose contentions and strifes would inevitably lead to civil war. Even should it be found possible to elect a wearer of the crown, added to the sulky acquiescence of the non-successful candidates would be the danger of an armed assertion of Tvrtko's claims, accompanied by a Hungarian invasion.

It therefore lay before Lazar to delay the calling of a National Assembly, to placate Tvrtko, to still further remove the threat of Hungarian armed intervention by subduing Altomanovich, and to stop the wells of bitterness arising from the anathema, by a reconciliation of the Servian Church with the Œcumenical Patriarch.

He met Tvrtko and freely conceded much that Tvrtko sought, binding him to the interests of Servian reconstruction and stability.

Lazaritza Church at Krushevatz, built by Tsar Lazar between 1360 and 1370

Knez Lazar, working in harmony with Tvrtko, overcame Nicola Altomanovich, who was showing fight, and his provinces with those he had taken from the Voynoviches were divided up between Tvrtko and Lazar, Balsha of Zeta also profiting by those events and annexing the districts of Trebigne.

Lazar then brought pressure to bear upon the Servian Patriarch at Pech (Ipek) to induce him to come to terms of agreement with Constantinople. At Prisren, near Ipek, in 1374, took place the public reconciliation of the Servian Patriarch with the Œcumenical Patriarch, who recognised the head of the Servian Church as Servian Patriarch, and withdrew the anathema which had lain against the Serb Church since 1352.

After Lazar's military successes over Altomanovich and Radich Brankovich, all of the Servian provinces, including those which had become detached from the central authority under Ourosh, had made formal submission to Knez Lazar. And with the solving of the long-standing Church difficulty he was universally recognised as Servian Sovereign and successor to the Imperial and Royal throne of the Nemanyas.[1] The people called him their Tsar, and from that

[1] Among the references in old chronicles are the following of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:

"He (Lazar Hrebelianovich) sat on the throne of the emperors who preceded him."—"Monumenta Serbica," p. 196.

"Knez Lazar was immediately after the death of Ourosh elected to the Servian throne."—*Glasnik*, XXI, pp. 159–160.

"Lazar sat on the throne of the first emperors immediately after the death of Emperor Ourosh." "*Rodoslov oj Ipek*," Iagich, *Beiträge*.

"After the death of Emperor Ourosh they (the Servian Assembly) elected Lazar as their liege-lord."—*Glasnik*, XVIII, p. 77.

time contemporary writers and chroniclers refer to him as "Tsar." But Lazar not yet having wrought out the task he had set before him, and which he was unwilling to jeopardise by proclaiming himself at that time "Emperor," continued to wear only his inherited title of Knez or Prince.

Lazar being recognised as Sovereign of the Servian realm as it had been under Ourosh after the secession of Voukashin in 1366, strove by all diplomatic means to win those prodigal provinces back into the home fold and reattach Bulgaria to Servia, and then, with the entire weight of all the Serb States in a unified effort, to drive the Turks back to Asia, and finally to accomplish Doushan's great conception of a Serbo-Byzantine Empire stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, enthroned at Constantinople.

Occupied with this vast design, to the realisation of which harmony of action between himself and Tvrtko was a first necessity, Lazar, as records seem to show, offered no opposition to Tvrtko's desire to be proclaimed King, so in 1377 at Mileshevo, at the grave of Saint Sava, Tvrtko was crowned Servian King, ruling in Bosnia.

The Servian States during these last events had been left free from Hungarian menace, as King Ludwig up to his death had been directing all his attention to affairs in Lithuania and Poland. When King Ludwig died, in 1382, civil war broke out in connection with the succession to the Hungarian throne. Fighting occurred chiefly in southern Hungary, in Croatia and Dalmatia.

King Tvrtko, to the best of his ability gave support to the insurrections against Hungary among the Croatians and Dalmatians and the Serbs in southern Hungary. Aiming at the annexation of Dalmatia to Bosnia, he built a fleet, constructed the town of Novi (Castel-Nuovo), near Cattaro, to compete as a commercial centre with Ragusa, and by 1388, aided by troops sent by Tsar Lazar, he had occupied Dalmatia and all of Croatia. The insurrections were still progressing in Hungary when the Hungarian King, Sigismund (who was also German Emperor and King of Bohemia), after long and careful preparations, marched with a large army to master the revolts and invade Bosnia and Servia. But both Serb States, though weakened by the recent defeat by the Turks at Kossovo, were able to keep the Hungarians at bay.

In 1390 King Tvrtko,[1] having reached the zenith of his power and having incorporated into Bosnia all the islands along the Adriatic coast, and all Dalmatia with the exception of the town of Zara, added to his titles of Servian King that of King of Croatia and Dalmatia.

When Tvrtko died, on May 23, 1391, he left to his successor in the western half of Serb-inhabited territory a large and important State, but that realm was, unfortunately, not as yet firmly consolidated, and included—especially in Croatian districts—as a legacy

[1] Venice in 1364 included "the illustrious and magnificent Lord Tvrtko, by the Grace of God Ban of all Bosnia, also his brother Prince Vouk and his mother Princess Helena" in the "Golden Book" of its Nobility, in which are found inscribed also the Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich.

from Hungarian influence, the disunifying elements of feudal traditions, and that at the moment when a new and terrible conqueror had already entered the Balkan Peninsula.

CHAPTER XII

FIGHT OF THE SERVIAN PEOPLE AGAINST THE TURKS. FULL TIDE OF THE TURKISH CONQUEST.

Review of the General Situation from the Coming of the Turks into Europe up to the Consummation of the Conquest.—From Gallipoli the Turks rapidly extended their domination in Byzance and Bulgaria, avoiding at first the Servian frontiers.

General conditions in Europe were the consequence of feudalism and the chaotic beginnings of the end of that period when the feudal lords fought among themselves and against the central authority which at the same time contended for the mastery over those haughty vassals and gave a measure of protection to the enslaved masses in whom began to rise a sense of rebellion and slowly awakening tendencies toward organisation for resistance against their lieges. In these warrings of the classes in which all and each, in the struggle of local, individual, and temporary interests, lost the capacity to grasp broad and general issues, no consciousness of nationality or devotion to a public, religious, or racial ideal could find place; and in the turmoil the different peoples were powerless to grasp the idea that the presence of the Turk on the western shores of the Dardanelles was a European peril. The Popes, whose vast imperial plans in the earlier crusading age had failed of their realisation and purpose, understood well the significance of the event and its danger to Christendom, but with all their efforts they were unable to organise any adequate opposing force, owing to the generally unsettled times, and also, perhaps, to a narrowing down of their own vision and aims. The Sultans, having made their foothold firm in Europe in 1369, and transferred their Capital from Broussa, in Asia, to Adrianople in 1371, came in conflict with the Serbs at the battle of the Maritza, and began, step by step, to gain

hard-won advantages in Servian territory. With every stand which the Serbs were forced to make against Turkish encroachment from the east and south, they were also at the same time under the necessity of defending their lands on the north and the west from Hungarian and Venetian inroads.

With the Servian defeat at Kossovo in 1389 the power of the Serb States to withstand the Ottoman invader and drive him back to Asia was broken.

At the battle of Angora, in Asia, in 1402, two formidable Turkish armies fought, each championing a great Turkish scheme for the erection of a vast Turkish Empire; on one side was the dread Turk, Tamerlane ("Timur-Leng"), planning to unite all the Turkish tribes with Khorassan, Afghanistan, Persia, and nearer Asia in a mighty State under the revived Khalifat of Bagdad; the army opposed to him was led by the Turkish Sultan Bayazid, victor of Kossovo, equally determined to impose the Turkish yoke through conquest upon numerous lands and peoples to be under the Imperial sway of the heirs of Osman. At Angora the Turk Tamerlane vanquished and captured the Turk Bayazid and crushed the Ottoman army. The effects of that defeat and the dynastic strife which, during a quarter of a century, rendered the Ottoman State incapable of any great enterprise offered to Europe a supremely favourable opportunity for forcing the enemy back across the Bosporus. The Servian States, had they been united and secure from attack from Hungary and Venice, could have successfully accomplished that task. The Servian Ruler, Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, co-operating with the Byzantine Emperor, again and again failed in attempts to obtain from Europe either support for an action against the Turks, or the neutrality of their northern and western borders, which was necessary before they could undertake an Eastern campaign.

The hostility between the Western and Eastern Churches, the antagonism between Byzantium and Venice, between Venice and the Pope in Italy, between Venice and Hungary in Dalmatia, and the efforts of Hungary and Venice to conquer the Servian States, the wars of the Hussites in Bohemia, the split within the Roman Catholic Church itself over the question of the Popes, the wars between France and England, the feuds and fights between the small republics in Italy,

and civil war in Hungary, rendered impossible any concerted action against the Turks. So the long period of opportunity for Europe was allowed to drift by and the Ottomans were given full time in which to regain their strength.

When those forces were renewed, the Osmanlis began again to pound against the Christian bulwarks, which were the Servian States and Vallachia.

Though Byzantium was already practically in the power of the Turks, they dared not lay hands upon the Imperial Capital. For, to the Sultan's mind, as the Pope was for long "the white magician," whose unseen orders were obeyed without visible machinery of enforcement, so, also, was Constantinople a kind of mystic city, which if but so much as touched by the Asian power would call forth as if by miracle the whole armies of Europe in avenging rage. The bold Sultan Mohammed II. besieged and took Constantinople without those armies appearing, and thus proved to all Turks the fallacy of the old superstition, the powerlessness of the "white magician" at Rome, and the power of the Moslem to strike terror unto Europe.

The ancient city, renamed by the Turks "Stamboul," has been from that day to the present the seat of Ottoman power in Europe and Asia.

From that imperial throne the Grand Turk sent forth his conquering armies. The Servian States, being attacked on all sides at once, by Hungary, Venice, and the Turk, fell, one by one, a prey to the Ottoman power—the Servian Despotat in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, and Herzegovina in 1481. By the year 1500 the last of the Servian States had been overthrown. Within the same time the Ottoman rule had been extended over Greece, Vallachia, and Moldavia. Throughout the whole Balkan Peninsula the only remaining refuge of independence was among the clans in the high mountains, and from those rocky eyries Servian freedom was never dislodged.

With the victory of Suleyman the Magnificent over the Hungarians at the battle of Mohatch, in 1526, Hungary in turn fell into Turkish hands, and the Ottoman Conqueror stood before Vienna.

In Asia the Turkish conquest was extended over Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf, and in 1516, after having entered Aleppo, Sultan

Selim assumed the style of "Servant of the Holy Cities Mecca and Medina." In 1517 he took Cairo, occupying Egypt, and the same year he stretched his borders beyond Yemen, including the Holy Cities, where he received from a Sheikh who was in the legitimate line of succession to the Abbaside Khalifs, transference of his rights to himself. Thus was fulfilled the dream of Tamerlane of the re-establishment of the Khalifat in the person of the Turkish Sultan. Sultan Selim and all the Ottoman Rulers after him, were Khalifas, "lieutenants of God upon Earth," the religious heads of all Islam. The Green Flag of the Prophet, the "Bariak-al-Shereef," was carried from Mecca to Constantinople, where, to the present time, it remains, the sacred symbol of Islam throughout all the regions of the Earth wherever there are Mohammedans.

In the East the Russians of Moscow, in 1380, had inflicted a defeat upon the Golden Horde, in the victory of Koulikovo, from which dated Russian delivery from the Tartars. Ivan III began what was called "The gathering together of the Russian Earth," attaching to the Tsardom of Moscow the vast Russian lands, and finally overwhelming the Golden Horde. In 1472 the Russian Tsar Ivan III married Sophia Paleologue, daughter of the last Despot of Morea, and niece of Constantine the last Byzantine Emperor.

From that time Russia placed on her escutcheon the double-headed eagle of the Eastern Roman Empire, and the Russian Tsars assumed the title of "Imperator."

In the West, Spain and Portugal drove the Saracens out of their dominions back across the Mediterranean to Africa, and Boabdil, the last Moslem Sovereign of Granada, appealed in vain to the Turkish Sultan Bayazid for help. The Spaniards from that time followed at the heels of the flying Moslems and harassed them in Africa.

The treaties between Venice and Turkey, by which the Serene Signory developed a monopoly of the trade in the eastern Mediterranean and along the routes to the Orient, aroused adventurous spirits to seek out new roads to India. That quest led the Genoese Christopher Columbus, in the service of the King of Spain, to the discovery,

in 1492, of the West Indies and later of the American Continent. In 1497 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama found the way to India around the Cape of Good Hope, and another Portuguese, Albuquerque, occupied, in the name of Portugal, the shores of India, the entrance to the Red Sea, and the Persian Gulf. In the year when Vasco da Gama, the first European to set foot in India, sailed around the Cape of Good Hope, the Turkish Sultan of Khokhand, a descendant of Tamerlane, invaded those lands through the Punjab and, victorious in a great battle near Delhi, established the rule of the "Great Moguls" in India.

The death of the Hungarian King Ludvig II, in the battle of Mohatch in 1526, left the Crown of Hungary and Bohemia as a heritage to the Hapsburg Rulers. But Sultan Suleyman was in actual possession of Hungary and placed on its throne a nominee of its own, King Zapolya.

The Hapsburgs were then at the apogee of their power and on the high-road to the attainment of the old Imperial Roman idea of universal domination. The Hapsburg device was expressed in the initials graven on all their castles and palaces: A.E.I.O.U. (Austriæ est Imperare orbi Universo), added to which was the individual motto of Charles V, German Emperor and King of Spain, "Plus Ultra." The Hapsburgs then held the Imperial German throne as Roman Emperors, the Crown of Spain, with its European territory and the colonies of the West Indies and the Americas, the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Lombardy, the Lowlands (to-day Holland and Belgium), Upper Alsatia, the Kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, and the Austrian Hereditary lands: Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and Tyrol.

The possessions of Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent then included Algeria and Tunesia, which had been added to his dominions by the two renowned Turkish Corsairs Baba-Aroudj and Kheir-Eddin; Tripoli, Egypt, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkan Peninsula, Vallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, and Hungary.

The Sultan warred with the House of Hapsburg on the plains of Hungary in the East, in the western Mediterranean off Spain, and on the northern coasts of Africa.

The King of France, Francis I, had failed in his contest with the Hapsburgs for the Imperial Crown. During that encounter the

French King's mother had appealed to the Sultan, and it was believed that the invasion of Hungary by Sultan Suleyman had been the swift response to that appeal and the first-fruits of the understanding between France and Turkey. The formal treaty between Francis and the Sultan, the potent and far-reaching issues of which in European politics were to extend even up to the present time, was signed at Belgrade by the French Ambassador, Jean de la Forêt, in 1535. From that time forth the whole weight of French influence supported the Turk as against Europe.

By that treaty the French secured in Turkey for Frenchmen: the rights of ex-territoriality; ships under the French flag received the exclusive right to trade in Turkish ports and ships of any other nation were able to exercise that privilege only by sailing under the French flag; to France also was given the guardianship of the Holy Places in Palestine and the protection of Christians in the Orient. The treaty gave to the Turkish Empire, among other benefits, the use of the port of Toulon as a military and naval base.

Immediately after the signing of the treaty the allied Franco-Ottoman Fleet, under the joint command of the famous Turkish Corsair Kheir-Eddin and the French Count d'Enghien, using Toulon as base, cruised in Genoese waters, bombarded Nice, and devastated and pillaged the Italian Riviera.

Under Suleyman the Magnificent the Empire of the Turks stretched to its broadest expanse and attained its greatest grandeur. Following the death of that Monarch[1] came a period of disorganisation and the decadence of Imperial authority leading to the time when the floods of the Turkish conquest, like the Saracenic invasions before them, began to recede back from Europe toward the Orient.

Spain, Venice, Toscana, and Pope Pius V formed the Holy League against Sultan Selim II, successor of Suleyman, and their allied fleet under Don Juan d'Austria swept the Turkish ships from the sea in the battle of Lepanto in 1571.

Prince Michael of Vallachia, 1595 to 1601, was able to clear Vallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania from the Turks, and for a short

[1] See page 21.

period to join those three principalities into one State, so for the first time uniting the Roumanian race under one rule.

During the same period Servian insurrections, which throughout two decades never ceased, shook the stability of Turkish domination.

In 1606 Sultan Ahmed was forced to sign the treaty of Zhitva-Torok, in which the Turks renounced the yearly tribute which Austria had been paying to the Sultan during sixty years, and the Principality of Transylvania became the Vassal of Austria as well as of Turkey.

In the seventeenth century the Turkish State, convulsed by interior disorder and Asiatic wars, was unable to profit by the events then occurring in Europe.

Under the rival standards of the Reformation and Roman Catholicism was fought the Thirty Years' War. The Reformation, uniting the forces of reform, progress, and religious liberty, was supported by Sweden and by the feudal German Princes, who opposed the augmenting Hapsburg authority and demanded for themselves individual sovereignty, and by France, the old Hapsburg rival in the contest for universal rule. The opposing standard of Roman Catholicism was identified with the Hapsburg ambition to attain the mastery of Europe.

The Peace of Westphalia, which ended the long and exhausting struggle, found France nearer the Rhine, the Netherlands—freed from Hapsburg rule only in the preceding century—risen to eminent power, the German Princes established as individual sovereigns, the Holy Roman Empire hardly more than a name, and the Hapsburgs pressed back toward Occidental Europe and thenceforth seeking territorial aggrandisement toward the East.

During the seventeenth century arose in the East the new Power which was to stand in the path of Austrian expansion eastward, Russia, able to bar the right of way to the Orient.

After the subjugation of the Golden Horde and the consolidation of all its lands into Russia, Ivan the Terrible, in 1552, conquered Kazan, and advancing to Astrakhan, incorporated into Russia the Cossacks of the Don as far as the Caspian Sea. Thirty years later the Cossack Yermak crossed the Ural and took possession of Siberia in the name of Russia. Under the Romanoff Tsars in the seventeenth century

the Russian Cossacks, taking on their way Tobolsk, Tomsk, the Obi valley, and Lake Baikal, rode eastward, carrying the Cross of Orthodox Christianity and the domination of the white race over interminable spaces to the Chinese Wall and the shores of the Pacific Ocean, like a reflux following those terrific invasions of Tartars and Mongols who in earlier ages had issued from that far Orient across the same wastes westward to overrun Europe.

In southern Asia the Dutch traders replaced the Portuguese along the shores of India and China, penetrating to Japan. The Dutch in rapid succession were followed by the French and English, who by 1644 had established British commerce in India, having gained footholds in Madras and Bengal.

So the great nations of the West, drawn eastward in the wake of the receding Oriental invasions, by the pathways blazed first by Persians, Mongols, Tartars, and Turks, began to acquire possessions in those far lands inhabited by strange races, and to set the tent-pegs of European dominion at the limits of the world.

The development of events through these struggles of the nations toward mutual adjustment, the rivalries of ambitions and counter-ambitions, the growing contests for political and trade supremacies between the great Powers of Europe, each impulse of which with increasing force re-echoed in the Far East, formed new factors in the World situation presaging the present era.

WITH the occupation of Gallipoli by the Turks, the destinies of the Balkan lands and of all Europe moved in a changed course. The Turks were, in point of military organisation and numbers, superior to the peoples with whom they came into contact in Europe. Throughout a hundred years they had in Asia been steadily welding together and forcing into an Islamic entity the various races and tribes which in former times furnished such splendid fighting legions to Byzance. Out of that material

the Ottomans had moulded a military and theocratic State well framed for conquest and formidable in the arrogant belief of its own invincibility.

In Western Europe during the early centuries, up to and beyond the fifteenth, reigned disorganisation resulting from feudalism and its wholesale exploitation of human material. The conditions of the times were expressed by a Jurisconsult of the thirteenth century,[1] who wrote: "Every great proprietor is a sovereign in his own territory"; each one had his gallows, and his assets included the "exploitation" or farming of "Justice."

The land Baron in his quality of independent lord came into opposition with the Crown, considered as the embodiment of a nation's totality and only unity. By the same principle the interests of the land Baron were in antagonism with those of his serfs and tenants, who formed the lower masses. Those masses found their sole and natural protector in the Crown. That system could exist and continually build itself up only among the ruins of a State and through the destruction or non-existence of a national conscience.

After the death of the strong Servian Emperor Doushan, and under the weak rule of his successor Ourosh, and the influence of Hungarian and Venetian intrigues aimed at undermining and overthrowing the Servian State, destructive theories and pernicious social principles under the guise of "western progress" were imported into Servia, where feudalism had never gained a foothold. These unfamiliar

[1] See Seignobos.

feudal ideas found favor among the large territorial administrators south of the Shar Dagh, who had come individually to hold the power that slipped from the hands of the weak young Emperor. They transformed themselves into sovereign princes, and the feudal spirit, working in them as it wrought elsewhere, threw them into endless wars between themselves—"each one for himself, and the devil take the hindermost." A pitiable result of this self-considering policy was that never once during the long and heroic fight of resistance did the whole combined force of what had formed the component parts of the Old Servian Empire stand together as a whole in united defence.

These lands, so torn with inner strife, were continually subject to attack from Hungary and Venice, and were relentlessly pressed by the strong military State of the Turkish invader, whose law was the will of one man, whose aim was the single purpose of conquest, and whose whole population was one vast army informed and inflamed by a fanatical faith.

From the first foothold gained by the Turks at Gallipoli, in Europe, they slowly, step by step, made headway in Byzantine and Bulgarian territory, their progress being favoured by the anarchical conditions prevailing in those lands.

In 1369 Sultan Mourad I transferred his capital from Broussa, in Asia Minor, to Adrianople (Thracia). That was an assertion that the Ottoman State looked for its future no longer toward Asia but toward Europe.

During that period of Turkish penetration the Servian State, under Ourosh, was occupied with Hungary and other Western problems, and did nothing toward the furthering of the former Emperor Doushan's plan of advancing to Constantinople to oppose the Turk.

The Ottoman path of penetration at first avoided the Servian borders, and the magnitude of the Turkish menace seemed to be lost sight of, not only in Servia, but nearly everywhere in Europe, although during that early period the Mediterranean seas were swept by Turkish Corsairs, by whom the commerce of the southern coasts of Europe was made to suffer heavily.

It was only the Ottoman occupation of Adrianople and the establishment there of the Turkish Capital and military headquarters which revealed the danger to Voukashin and his brothers, who but three years prior to that event, in 1366, had proclaimed themselves as independent Servian Rulers in the territories of which they had been Imperial Administrators and Governors.

Realising the new peril, they bound themselves together to fight the Turk, against whom they took the field. On September 26, 1371, a Servian army under the command of Voukashin and his brothers had reached a point on the Maritza River, not far from Adrianople, when they were suddenly surprised in a night attack by the Turks and utterly crushed, Voukashin and all his brothers being killed. The results of that first important battle between Turks and Serbs were decisive. The Turks even to-day

call that battle-field "Sirb Sindin" (Servian defeat), and from it they date their domination of the Balkan lands.

The Turks imposed upon the Serb lands which had been held by Voukashin and his brothers, recognition of Ottoman supremacy, payment of tribute-money, and the furnishing of a military contingent to the Turkish army. During the half-century when the lands of Voukashin and his brothers retained their semi-independence, they were still further weakened by dynastic quarrels, which were encouraged by Venice, who was always striving for ports on the Ægean Sea, as well as on the Adriatic, and by the Sultans, whose soldiers helped first one side and then the other, incidentally overrunning and plundering the land.

On December 2, 1371, the Emperor Ourosh died, and the Servian lands north and west of the Shar Dagh were agitated by the question of succession to the Servian throne. It was several years before Knez Lazar Hrebelianovich was able to reconsolidate the Servian State in the territories which had remained in the Empire, after the secession of Voukashin and his brothers in 1366, and to reassert a Central Authority. His next step was to attempt to extend the reconsolidation of the Empire over those provinces which, by the battle of the Maritza, had fallen under Turkish over-lordship.

He worked to obtain the co-operation of Bulgaria, then under Turkish suzerainty, of the lands of Marko Kralyevich (Voukashin's son and successor),

and of all the other Serb lands in a general united movement against the Turks.

In 1386 Sultan Mourad attacked Servia and laid siege to Lazar at Nish, which he took after twenty-five days of fighting. He imposed a peace by which Lazar agreed to pay a yearly tribute to the Turks and furnish them one thousand horsemen as warriors. Sultan Mourad in his turn agreed to give up to Lazar the newly won prize of Nish and its districts. This convention is cited as the first treaty ever made by the Turks in Europe. In the same year Lazar sent the stipulated thousand horsemen to fight for the Sultan in Asia Minor. Those auxiliaries were unjustly humiliated and brutally treated by Mourad, and the Servian Ruler, on their return, denounced the treaty and repudiated the obligations it imposed.

Thereupon a second Turkish army invaded Servia in December, 1387. They were attacked near the Toplitza River, at Plotchnik, by Lazar, who completely anihilated the Ottoman forces.

Lazar's movement against the Turks was crippled by his arrangement with King Tvrtko, of Bosnia, whom he was supporting with armed assistance against Hungary. Tvrtko was then working at the realisation of his plan to erect a great Serbo-Croat State. The Hungarian King, during the campaign in 1389, had penetrated Servia up to the district of Grouzha.

After devoting a year to war preparations, the Sultan, in 1389, gathered together an enormous army and entered Bulgaria to prevent a junction of Bulgarians and Servians. He then turned against Servia, and

after some fighting in the Pirot district, advanced to Kossovo plain. There, on June 15th (June 28th new style), was fought the great decisive battle of Kossovo, between the whole Turkish Army under Sultan Mourad I and the Servian Army under Tsar Lazar. In the beginning of the day the Servians gained an advantage. The Servian right wing, commanded by Vouk Brankovich, pressed with such force the Turkish left wing that toward the middle of the day the Serbs appeared to be winning. A messenger despatched at that moment to King Tvrtko, in Bosnia, carried the news of Servian victory, which went across Europe. In Paris a Te Deum was sung in Notre Dame to celebrate the Christian triumph. At a critical moment, when victory still hung in the balance, the advancing Servian right wing was suddenly attacked in the flank, and crushed in by the Turkish reserves under Bayazid, heir to the Ottoman throne. The resistance of the Servian centre under Lazar was then broken by the Turks, Lazar himself was taken prisoner, and the left Servian wing, mostly Bosnians, under the Bosnian leader Vlatko Voukovich, swept from the field. While the battle raged at its height a Servian nobleman—afterward a hero in the ballads—called Milosh Obilich found means of approaching the Sultan, and slew him. After the battle, by the orders of the new young Sultan Bayazid, Tsar Lazar and the princes and nobles captured with him were beheaded.[1]

[1] The dismembered body of the Tsar was given back to the Servians, who gave it burial first in the Monastery of Gratchanitza, on Kossovo plain. From there the body was taken to Ravanitza, in Servia, and thence, when the exodus occurred in 1689, the dead Tsar's body was carried by

Church and Monastery of Ravanitza, built by Tsar Lazar between 1368 and 1372

The battle of Kossovo, more than any other event in Servian history, has graven itself upon the minds of the people as an overwhelming national disaster, and throughout all Serb lands that anniversary, June 15th (old style), is kept as a memorial day for mourning, not only for the nation's overthrow, but for the heroes who fell on that day, and for all Servians who have since then died in the defence of their country in all other battles from that time to the present.

The Serbs did not at first realise the significance of the Servian loss at Kossovo. The contemporary chroniclers refer to it as they do to any other battle. Only after some two decades, when it became more and more apparent that the Servian countries were being steadily and surely closed in upon by the Turks, in spite of their utmost resistance, did the full meaning of Kossovo dawn fully on the Servian mind.

From that period begins to date the great epic cycle of songs called always, up to the time of their second edition in the nineteenth century, "The songs of

the emigrating Servians with them to St. Andre, near Buda-Pesth, in Hungary, and finally left in repose at Vrdnik Monastery, now called New Ravanitza, in the Frushka Gora Mountains, in Syrmia, where it rests to-day, and is an object of yearly pilgrimage by the inhabitants of all the Serb lands.

After the battle of Kossovo the dead Sultan Mourad was also buried on Kossovo plain, where his "tulbe" is still seen to-day, though his body was afterward transferred to Broussa, the ancient Turkish capital, where it now lies.

The popular traditions and the folk songs make Milosh Kobilich the son-in-law of Lazar, or the betrothed of Olivera, whom Bayazid took away to be his Sultana. According to records, there were among the Servian refugees who came to live in northern Hungary a noble Servian family of the name of Kobilich, who claimed to trace its origin from the Servian hero Milosh Kobilich. The name Kobilich is spelled since the sixteenth century in the ballads "Obilich."

Tsar Lazar," or "Lazaritza," in which Lazar Hrebelianovich is the central figure. This epic cycle is entitled in the present editions, "Songs of the Battle of Kossovo."

Lazar had reasserted central authority in the State, and taken up the great Servian State's policy as it had been conceived by Nemanya and developed by his successors Kings Miloutin and Detchanski, and finally by the Emperor Doushan by whom it had been fully formulated and elaborated. Lazar, like Doushan, looked toward the east and the Ægean. The defeat of Kossovo and the death of Lazar wrecked and dashed to the earth all that the Nemanyas and the Servian people had built up during the centuries, and annihilated Servian unity and all constructive Servian policy from that day to this.

The immediate result of Kossovo was the rebreaking up into sections of the Serb territories; the Balshas family seceded with Zeta; Vouk Brankovich held his own principality (covering Kossovo and Novi-Bazar districts), separated from and independent of the other Servian lands, and sought in an arrangement with Hungary means of continuing the fight with the Turks. Incidentally, King Sigismund of Hungary profited by that understanding to attack Servia on the north, in the early autumn of the same year (1389).

Tsarina Militza, widow of Lazar, who was Regent for her two minor sons Stephan and Vouk Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, realised, with the advice of her Councillors, that it was of immediate necessity to arrange for peace with the Turkish Sultan Bayazid.

For, notwithstanding the fact that the Turkish loss had been almost as disastrous at Kossovo as that of the Serbs, and that Bayazid was forced to return to Adrianople to firmly install himself as successor to his father's throne, and that his attention was immediately required to deal with troubles in Asia Minor, the menacing action of the Hungarians against Servia on the north, and Vouk Brankovich's pretensions to the Servian throne, made it imperative for the Servian Regents to come to terms with the new Sultan. Those terms were made hard, but they at least guaranteed to the remaining Servian territories for some twenty years or so freedom from Turkish plundering.

The Sultan imposed upon Servia a payment of tribute, the furnishing of a military contingent, and the terrible exaction that the Tsarina Militza should give him her youngest daughter, Olivera, in marriage.

Then began an era of internecine fights between the various Servian principalities, fanned and fed by outside influences, and by all who saw an interest in Servian ruin: Hungarians, Venetians, Turks—all of whom took sides and intervened even with troops to keep the fight raging. With the on-coming Turks steadily overwhelming them, it was as if the Serb lands had been struck by a wave of madness.

After the death of King Tvrtko of Bosnia in 1391, the feudal principle of the destruction of central authority for the sole profit of a small oligarchy, took possession also of these lands; and Dabisha, the younger brother and successor of King Tvrtko,

became the mere plaything of the powerful Bosnian Lords. The political difficulties of these lands were complicated by the question of the old religious feuds which offered rich opportunity to Hungarian intrigues on one side and to Turkish plots on the other.

The Bosnian borders, as they were left to his heir by King Tvrtko, reached to the Adriatic Sea, enclosing all the isles along the coast, and stretched from the Velebit Mountains in the north to Cattaro in the south.

King Sigismund of Luxemburg, King of Bohemia, German Emperor, and King of Hungary, elected by the strongest party in the Hungarian States Assembly, strove to bring Dalmatia and Croatia under Hungary. King Ladislas of Naples, who in 1387 had been elected King of Hungary by the revolutionary party, also fought and intrigued to secure Dalmatia and Croatia as a stepping-stone to Hungary. Each of those contestants had sought, during the reign of Tvrtko, the support of Bosnia for his claim as King of Hungary. Sigismund now took measures to undermine the new Bosnian King Dabisha, while Ladislas endeavoured to obtain Bosnian support apart from Dabisha, and secretly knotted up alliances with some of the greater Bosnian nobles.

Dabisha, who was threatened from four quarters at once—by the Hungarians under Sigismund on the north, Ladislas on the west, a number of his own nobles from within, and the Turks on the south—decided to come to terms with Sigismund, and agreed with the Hungarian King to the pact of "Djakovo"

in 1393. By that pact Sigismund recognised Dabisha as King of Bosnia, Croatia, and Dalmatia; Dabisha in turn recognised the suzerainty of King Sigismund over Croatia and Dalmatia, but each were to retain the territories then held, and in case of Dabisha's death he was to be succeeded by Sigismund as King of Bosnia.

A large part of the Bosnian nobles refused to recognise the pact of Djakovo, which raised a storm of anger throughout the country, and King Dabisha was obliged to denounce the treaty. It was only after the Bosnian defeat at Bobor in 1394 that Sigismund forced King Dabisha to again agree to the terms of the Djakovo compact.

During these occurrences in the west in Bosnia, the Turks under Bayazid invaded Bulgaria, which for the last twenty years had been paying tribute to the Sultan, advanced without meeting any resistance, and entered the Bulgarian capital of Trnovo. With Trnovo in the Sultan's hands in 1393 the Bulgarian State ceased to exist, the Bulgarians having completely submitted to Turkish rule. That submission remained unbroken without any insurrection on the part of the people against Turkish domination for five hundred years—up to 1878—when Russia delivered the land from the Turks and created modern Bulgaria.

The fall of Bulgaria and the continual raiding of Hungary, Vallachia, and Bosnia by the Turks aroused apprehensions throughout Europe. Those

fears made it possible for Sigismund (German Emperor, King of Bohemia and Hungary) to bring together a cosmopolitan crusading army, the greater part of which was French, to deal with the Ottoman danger.

In the summer of 1396 that army commanded by Sigismund crossed the Danube to Nicopolis, on the opposite shore, where in a terrific battle the great crusading army was utterly routed by the Turks, Sigismund himself barely escaping alive. The first move of the Turks after the victory of Nicopolis was the capture of the ally of Sigismund, Vouk Brankovich, whom they kept prisoner, dividing up his territory, leaving part of it to his wife and children and bestowing the rest upon Despot Stephan Lazarovich, who during the campaign of Nicopolis had scrupulously continued to observe the terms of the treaty made by his mother with the Sultan after Kossovo.

The Turks then began to advance and annex one by one those Servian principalities which in 1366 had seceded from the Servian Empire, and which since the battle of the Maritza had been under Ottoman suzerainty. The Turkish progress even there was slow, but during the following seventeen years nearly all of those south-eastern Servian principalities had been put under direct Ottoman rule.

In Zeta there was civil war, resulting from the attempts of Radich Tzrnoyevich to usurp supreme power. George III Balshich, the ruler of Zeta, had been taken prisoner by the Turks. When he regained his freedom he hastened to enter into an

agreement with Venice, who in return for the cession of the towns of Scutari and Drivast, guaranteed his freedom from Turkish attack.

Balshich was then able to put down the rebellion in Zeta, take again the reins of power, and pacify the country.

After the death of King Dabisha of Bosnia in 1395, his consort Helena was elected Queen-Ruler. Under her reign, which lasted three years, the three great noblemen, Hervoya Vouktchich, Sandal Hranich, and Paul Radenovich formed an oligarchy which usurped the Government of the State. In 1398 the candidate of this oligarchy, Stephan Ostoya, was elected King. The policy of King Ostoya and the Oligarchy was to support the pretensions of King Ladislas of Naples to the Hungarian throne, as opposed to Sigismund, who prepared for a new invasion of Bosnia.

In Servia, Despot Stephan Lazarovich, under the menace of Sigismund's action, sought some means of coming to an understanding with Hungary and breaking away from his bond with the Turks. The Servian Assembly, however, and the Tsarina Militza, his mother, strongly opposed that change in foreign policy, and Despot Stephan was obliged to abide by the Turkish arrangement.

Sigismund in 1398 personally led an expedition into Bosnia, but was met by Hervoya Vouktchich, who defeated him and pursued him into Hungarian

territory, and so extended the lines of the Bosnian border northward. That success of the Bosnian Serbs encouraged the pretender Ladislas and his supporters the insurgents in Hungary. The war between Sigismund and Ladislas, supported by the Bosnian King Ostoya and the Oligarchy, continued monotonously during these years.

In 1402, with the appearance in Asia Minor of the great Conqueror Tamerlane, advancing from his capital of Samarcand to force the Osmanlis into his vast scheme of founding an all-Turkish and Islamic Empire, with the re-establishment of the Khalifat of Bagdad, the Osmanli Sultan Bayazid was forced to turn his whole attention eastward.

On the 28th of July, 1402, the Turkish army of Tamerlane fought the Turkish army of Bayazid in the famous battle of Angora, which resulted in an overwhelming victory for Tamerlane, who captured the Osmanli Sultan, completely destroying the whole Janissary force.

At that battle there fought against Tamerlane the two sons of Knez Lazar, Despot Stephan and Knez Vouk Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, and Lazar's grandsons the brothers George and Lazar Voukovich Brankovich. The biographers of Tamerlane record the great admiration expressed by him, during and after the battle, for the skill and heroism of the Servian contingent, which was led by Despot Stephan.

Immediately after the battle of Angora the four Servian princes retreated to Constantinople and started on their homeward journey. Despot Stephan

saw that the Turkish defeat, with the capture and the ensuing death of Bayazid, and the resulting disorder in the Osmanli realm, aggravated by disputes among the Sultan's heirs for possession of the Turkish throne, provided a propitious moment for a Servian attempt to shake off the Turks and regain the lost Serb lands.

That undertaking was rendered critical by the fact that George Brankovich, nephew of Stephan, was deeply involved in Hungarian intrigues against the Servian Despotat, which was the bait offered to his ambitions by Sigismund. At the same time George was also entangled in the schemes of one of the Turkish pretenders, equally aimed against Despot Stephan.

Stephan, on arriving at the Bosporus from Angora, was appealed to by the Byzantines, then still in possession of Constantinople, to enter a general coalition of Western Powers against the Turks. To obtain this coalition the Byzantine Emperor was at that moment making a tour of Europe.

Despot Stephan, in agreeing to give Servian cooperation, found it wise to arrange that the Byzantine Regent should detain George Brankovich in Constantinople, so checkmating his designs against himself.

Despot Stephan returned home by sea in order to stop at Mytelene and arrange for his marriage to the niece of the Byzantine Emperor. On his arrival at the coast of Zeta, he found messengers from his mother, Tsarina Militza, who brought news that George Brankovich had escaped from Constanti-

nople and, with the help of a Turkish force furnished to him by Suleyman, was marching against the Servian Despotat; and further, that Militza had raised an army which was waiting for Stephan. To that army he added a body of auxiliaries given him by the ruler of Zeta, George Stratimirovich Balsha, and went with his brother, Vouk Lazarovich, to meet Brankovich on Kossovo plain. There near Gratchanitza was fought an undecided battle. The efforts of the Brankoviches then became desultory and without any serious effect. With the aim of paralysing any further action of George Brankovich, and in order to secure additional support for his plan of a concerted attempt to drive back the Turks, Stephan Lazarovich sought to draw nearer to Sigismund. All the conditions in the adversaries' camp were singularly favourable for such a general attack. Anarchy reigned in the Osmanli realm, and civil war raged among the adherents of the various pretenders to the Sultanate.

Unfortunately the Serb lands were separated under different Rulers at variance among themselves—"a house divided against itself." Byzance was feeble, Bulgaria non-existent, and no help was to be obtained from Europe where general conditions were deplorable. As Sigismund was obliged to take energetic action in the west against Ladislas, who had caused himself to be proclaimed Hungarian King in Dalmatia, he found it necessary to make terms with Despot Stephan. He returned to the Servian Despot the Serb districts of Matchva, and contributed to his expedition a small Hungarian contingent. Stephan

had not progressed far within the lands occupied by the Turks, when the Ottoman pretender Suleyman, then in command of the Turks at Adrianople, offered terms of peace to the Servian Despot, ceding him the territory he had entered and other favourable conditions.

Sigismund, who had been able to pacify Hungary, then turned against Bosnia and forced from King Ostoya a promise to recognise Hungarian suzerainty. That transaction was not at all to the taste of the Oligarchs, or the Bosnian people, or Ragusa. King Ostoya was at once deposed, and in his stead the Bosnians elected Tvrtko II as King. The subsequent efforts in 1405 of Sigismund to reimpose Ostoya upon the Bosnians failed.

Balsha III, who had succeeded his father in 1404, engaged in a series of struggles with Venice to regain parts of Zeta which the Venetians had taken during his father's lifetime. These fights continued with slight intermissions during the greater part of his reign, up to 1421. He warred also with Bosnia for Cattaro. It was only in 1412 that the turmoil in Zeta began somewhat to abate.

The period of relative peace which was assured to the Servian Despotat by Stephan's arrangement with Suleyman was employed by the Servian Despot in strengthening the interior of his State in several ways and in quietly making preparations for a future contest with the Turks. He introduced reforms in the army organisation and built fortifications and

fortresses at important strategic points, the most famous of these being his monumental castle of Resava (Manassia), sheltering the monastery founded there by him as a great seat of learning. He developed the mining industry and other economical and commercial interests, fortified Belgrade, and made of it an important commercial centre. In his foreign policy he drew nearer to Byzance, Hungary, and Venice, but on account of the diverse aims and interests of these States, and their mutual rivalries, he was not able to obtain their harmonious co-operation for a united effort against the Turks.

The Emperor, King Sigismund, decided to again invade Bosnia. Endeavouring to secure support for that renewed attack, he represented to the Pope that it was necessary to destroy the Bogomils of Bosnia and fortify the Roman Catholic Church in that land. He thereby obtained a large levy of European crusaders, instigated by the Pope, and with that army he defeated the Bosnians in 1408. That defeat was far-reaching in its results. Ladislas of Naples, by his lukewarm and indecisive conduct, was deserted after that Hungarian victory by those who had until then remained faithful to his cause, and Sigismund received the submission of Dalmatia and the Oligarchs of Bosnia. Tvrtko II was taken prisoner by Sigismund, who ordered one hundred and twenty-six noblemen taken at the same time to be hacked to pieces and thrown into the river Bosna. The Oligarchs Hervoya Vouktchich and his relative Nelepich made arrangements with Sigismund, who left them

undisturbed in the administration of Dalmatia and Croatia.

The greater part of the Bosnian nobility, led by Sandal Hranich, was strongly opposed to the idea of Hungarian domination, and elected as their King Stephan Ostoya, who four years previously had been deposed because of his Hungarian leanings. The Bosnian nobles reinstated him on condition that he should forsake his former Hungarian policy.

King Ladislas of Naples, who had lost all hope of ever making good his pretensions to the Hungarian Crown, sold to Venice on July 9, 1409, for the sum of one hundred thousand ducats, his rights in Dalmatia, and ceded to Venice all of the Dalmatian territories which his troops had occupied. So once more the possessor of Dalmatia was Venice, to whom that coast was of great strategic and commercial value.

Sigismund disputed the right of Ladislas to sell Dalmatia, and went to war with Venice, and the Serene Signory was put to the necessity of asserting her rights by the sword.

That stubborn fight between Hungary and Venice was a calamity for the whole European world, for the reason that it hindered the union of Western powers from making an effort against the Turks at a time when the Turkish dominion, weakened and paralysed by civil war and every disrupting influence, would have been at the mercy of a strong attacking force. Thus it was virtually the quarrels and rivalries of the Western powers which kept the Turks in Europe, letting a supremely favourable opportunity for driv-

ing them out lapse once and for all. A state of affairs in regard to the relations of Western Europe and the Near East, which in principle has been maintained conspicuously upon more than one occasion since, if not essentially upon all occasions.

The continual attempts at interference in Servian affairs by Hungary, and the unhappy results of Hungarian influence in Bosnia, caused Despot Stephan's policy of drawing nearer to Hungary in an anti-Turkish move to meet with distrust and sharp opposition from the Servians, especially in the southern regions. That resistance was headed by the brother of the Despot, Vouk Lazarovich, and as Suleyman, one of the Turkish pretenders, began to profit by the Servian interior dissensions, and to interfere, the brothers came to an arrangement early in 1409 whereby Vouk was given the administration of the southern part of the Despotat, representing the anti-Hungarian party.

The conflict between Suleyman and Moussa, two of the Turkish pretenders to their father's throne, was tranferred from Asia to the Ottoman provinces of Europe, centred at Adrianople. The Lazaroviches and the Brankoviches sided with Moussa, and were present at the battle in 1410, near Constantinople, between the forces of the Turkish factions. Moussa lost the day, and after the battle turned in rage against the Servian princes. Despot Stephan retired within the walls of Constantinople, while Vouk Lazarovich and Lazar Brankovich set out for Servia.

On the way they fell into the hands of a body of Moussa's men and were beheaded. Stephan was able later by an arrangement with Moussa to return to the Servian Despotat.

During the next three years the strifes between Moussa and Suleyman for the Sultan's throne kept the Turkish realm in constant turmoil and disorder, leaving an open door for the Christian Powers to enter and drive out the Turks. Instead of applying themselves to that relatively easy task, Hungary and Venice were occupied in fighting over Dalmatia, and Hungary also found it more to her advantage to again invade Bosnia in 1410–11. King Ostoya being pressed back by the Hungarians from the northern districts, was only able to maintain his rule in southern Bosnia.

Meanwhile, in European Turkey, Moussa having gained the upper hand over his brother Suleyman, began at once, during 1412 and 1414, to lead attacks and raids into the adjacent Servian territory, which provoked Despot Stephan to give his support to Moussa's third rival for the Sultanate, Mehemet, who until then had remained in Asia Minor. With Stephan's aid, Mehemet was able to defeat Moussa in a fierce battle on the river Isker at the foot of Mount Vitosh, near Sophia. After that victory Mehemet ascended the throne of the Sultans, and compensated Despot Stephan by a treaty ceding to him the Servian districts of Znepolye and Bresnik lying south of Sophia, and cancelling all tribute and other obliga-

tions which had been imposed upon Servia by the Turks in former treaties.

Stephan again became interested in an attempted combination of Byzance, Venice, and Hungary, to stay the progress of the Ottomans. However, the local antagonisms and contests between Hungary and Venice, and between Venice and Byzance, made futile, as before, all negotiations aimed at concerted anti-Turkish action.

Sigismund was fighting in the south-west against Venice for Dalmatia, and in the north in Bohemia he was contending with the Hussite reformation movement which was identified with the demands of the Tchek Slavonic national party as opposed to the Germanic-Catholic foreign domination. Bosnia was in turmoil, where Hervoya Vouktchich, although he had been brought to recognise Sigismund as his liege lord, still maintained friendly relations with Venice.

The occurrences involving the personality of Hervoya and Sandal Hranich show the course of feudal dealings characteristic of the age and of the methods employed by Hungary in Bosnia.

Hervoya, on account of his submission to Sigismund, had drawn upon himself the general hostility of the Bosnians, Sandal Hranich being the only one of the great nobles to remain steadfast as his friend. But when Sandal went to join the army of Despot Stephan Lazarovich to help him in his campaign against Moussa, Hervoya took advantage of that absence to pounce upon Hranich's territory. That act of treachery brought upon Hervoya not only the anger of Hranich, but the detestation of all the Bosnians,

who withdrew from him the last vestiges of their support. Upon the fall of Hervoya, Sigismund, who had been his ally, also forsook him, and, proclaiming him a traitor to Hungary, sent an army into Bosnia headed by the dethroned King Tvrtko II, whom he was holding as prisoner of war, and whom he now saw fit to put forward as pretender to the Bosnian throne, in opposition to King Ostoya. That sequence of moves on the part of the Hungarian King made it possible for Hervoya to effect a reconciliation with Hranich, in the national interests, and to form an alliance with King Ostoya. The Bosnian army, however, was too small to hope to withstand the immense Hungarian invasion, and King Ostoya and his friends obtained auxiliary troops from the Turkish Sultan. With that reinforcement they were able to meet the enemy in the battle of Doboye, 1415, where they were completely victorious over the Hungarian army.

The Turks during that campaign entered the fortified stronghold of Vrh-Bosna (to-day Serayevo), of which they retained possession for a time, using it as a point of vantage to enforce Turkish suzerainty over Bosnia. Sultan Mohammed attempted to intervene in Bosnia, on the ground of supporting the authority of King Ostoya, who died in 1418.

Venice had been at war with Turkey and had annihilated the Turkish fleet off Gallipoli on May 29, 1416. The efforts of the Byzantine Emperor to bring about, with the Pope's help, a coalition of the Western European Powers against the Turks met

with failure because of the general political situation complicated by the many conflicting interests of these Western countries. Venice, finding herself pressed by Balsha of Zeta on one side and Hungary on the other, found it necessary to conclude peace with Turkey, November 7, 1419.

The new Bosnian King, Stephan Ostoyich, offered to Venice alliance and help against Hungary and against Balsha, but his offers were declined by the Serene Signory.

Balsha, who was old and had no heirs, decided to recognise as his successor and the rightful sovereign of Zeta Despot Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, who was the son and successor of Tsar Lazar. Balsha went to Servia to see Despot Stephan, whom he recognised as suzerain and Servian sovereign, and died there on April 28, 1421, after having settled in this way the succession to Zeta's throne.

An encumbrance on that heritage left by Balsha to Despot Stephan was the war with Venice, which the Despot ended by concluding an armistice with Venice in August, 1423. According to that convention Venice retained possession of the towns of Scutari, Cattaro, and Dulcigno; and Stephan, as sovereign of Zeta, kept the rest of the territory of modern Montenegro, the Zetan seashore, and the coast towns of Antivari, Drivast, and Budua. The final peace between Venice and Servia was sealed only in 1426, closing a fight of nearly twenty years for the possession of several harbours on the Adriatic, at the foot of the Montenegrin Mountains. That period also put Venice in possession of the whole

coast line of Dalmatia. In 1423 Venice also obtained from Byzance the cession of the town of Salonika on the Ægean Sea.

Venetian progress into the interior of Dalmatia was confronted by a Croatian Servian Prince, Knez Nelepich, who was adamant to all the offers and wiles of Venice. The Serene Signory then approached King Tvrtko II of Bosnia, successor to King Stephan Ostoyich, with a proposal of alliance. That proposal was accepted by Tvrtko, who with Sandal Hranich attacked Knez Nelepich. Radivoye, the son of the former Bosnian ruler Stephan Ostoyich, thereupon raised a force of Turkish soldiers and went to the succour of Knez Nelepich. Although Tvrtko defeated the Turks in that campaign in 1429, the pressure from the side of Hungary was so great that the Bosnian King was obliged to come to terms with Sigismund and enter into an alliance with him against the Turks. According to the conditions of that convention, Tvrtko II recognised Hungarian suzerainty and named as his successor on the Bosnian throne the Hungarian Magnate Herman of Cilli. However, when the fight with the Turks began the promised Hungarian co-operation was not forthcoming, and Tvrtko found himself obliged to accept and recognise Ottoman suzerainty.

In the Servian Despotat efforts had been repeatedly made by the sons of Vouk Brankovich (son-in-law of Knez Lazar) to make good their claim to the Servian throne. These attempts, which were instigated by Hungary, were the cause of long contests and

much bloodshed. In 1412 an understanding was arrived at between the Hungarian King Sigismund and George Brankovich, by which, in case of his being able to supplant the son of Knez Lazar, George Brankovich was to recognise for himself and his descendants the Hungarian suzerainty. At the same time Sigismund found it necessary, on account of his Western wars, to avoid provoking the Servian Despot to military action, and it was not until 1426 that the Hungarian King was in a position to bring Stephan Lazarovich to proclaim George Brankovich as his successor to the Servian throne, to the exclusion of the Despot's nearer heirs. Sigismund further impressed upon Stephan the necessity, in order to firmly secure the succession to George Brankovich and prevent conflicts over the Royal heritage, of obtaining the ratification of the nomination of George as Heir-Apparent by the National Assembly. That was accomplished at the Session held at Srebrenitza in 1426. This action of Stephan Lazarovich filled the country with dissension. Servia was attacked by Tvrtko on the west and by Sultan Mourad II on the east. Tvrtko II was defeated, and the Ottoman ruler being obliged to give his attention to a rising in Asia Minor, soon abandoned the campaign against Servia.[1]

On July 19, 1427, Despot Stephan Lazarovich died. Immediately upon the death of Stephan and the accession to the throne of George Brankovich, the

[1] The strife of the Brankoviches for possession of the Servian throne made them unpopular with the people. That disapproval was recorded in their songs and in the cycle of the "Lazaritza." Vouk Brankovich appears to the popular conception as a traitor who betrayed the Servian cause at Kossovo.

Turks attacked Servia, and Sigismund of Hungary occupied the Matchva district and Belgrade, and made ready to march into Golubatz, which George Brankovich had promised to hand over to Hungary. But before the Hungarians could enter Golubatz the Servian Voyvoda Yeremiah, in command of that fortress, deliberately opened its gates to the Turks. The short Turkish campaign was terminated by a peace by which the Sultan remained in possession of Golubatz, Nish, and Kroushevatz.[1]

Despot George, shorn of Belgrade, Golubatz, Nish, and Krushevatz, was thus left without any of the great Servian strongholds, and began to build a new fortress at Smederevo, near the place where the Morava River pours into the Danube. Smederevo was finished in 1430. In that same year the southernmost extremity of that great north-to-south valley, at whose extreme northern entrance stood Despot George's new fortress, came into the possession of the Turks through the conquest from Venice of the town of Salonika.

Then followed a period of continued internal struggle among the Servian lands. Servian statesmen lost sight of broad general interests and seemed to

[1] The contemporary biographer of Stephan Lazarovich, Constandin the Philosopher, gives an account of his death at Drvenglava and his entombment at the monastery of Manassia. Another version of that biography tells of the Servian Despot's death at Drvenglava and of his burial at Belgrade. Still another version says that Despot Stephan was killed by an arrow shot at him by mistake by a foreign soldier. This traditional and legendary account, which among the people has outlived all the others, tells that the Despot was secretly buried, but that a magnificent empty bier was carried to Tsrkvine and there buried, to deceive the Despot's enemies as to his real burial-place. Sima Miloutinovich, in his history, mentions this later version as the correct one.

sacrifice all wider national ideals to restricted and local aims which often became personal in character. This state of mind was, it is true, at that period characteristic not only of Servia, but of all the other lands of Europe as well. The whole Western world was in a state of anarchy. France, Germany, England were all "at swords' points," in feudal wars. In Italy the small republics and towns were warring among themselves, full of the spirit of local hatred and individual envy rather than that of devotion to general public interest or high principle. The Catholic Church was torn by factional fights and by the battle arising from the desperate resistance of the Curia to the pressure of liberal ideas within the Roman fold.

In Servia the chaotic spirit of the time drove Despot George and Bosnia into war merely over the mines of Srebrenitza. The pretender to the Bosnian throne strove with the help of Turkish troops to overthrow King Tvrtko II. The highest pitch of political foolishness was reached when Despot George Brankovich and Sandal Hranich paid to the Turkish Sultan a sum of money for the Bosnian throne, from which they drove King Tvrtko, leaving the Chair of State unoccupied. Tvrtko, after his flight into Hungary, was able to return to Bosnia, make an arrangement with the Sultan, who was nothing daunted by his previous sale of the Bosnian throne, and reestablish his authority over the northern part of the country. In the southern region Sandal Hranich had made himself independent of the Bosnian King, his territory forming the lands which are to-day Herzegovina.

The condition of wild disorder into which Bosnia was plunged turned to the profit of the Turks. As soon as Sandal Hranich and Knez Nelepich were dead the Sultan's forces re-entered the country and again fortified themselves at Vrh-Bosna (Serayevo).

In 1436 a Turkish army crossed Vallachia and Transylvania and attacked Hungary from the eastern side. An army of Hungarians, intending to draw the Turks southward, invaded Servia and captured Krushevatz, which they were obliged afterward to evacuate. They then returned to the north. At Smederevo they encountered an Ottoman force which for a time barred their retreat. They were able finally to overcome the Ottoman troops and make their way back across the Danube into Hungary. In the year following, Sigismund died, leaving as his successor to the Hungarian and Bohemian crowns, Albrecht of Hapsburg, whose accession to the throne was opposed by the Hungarians and was the cause of civil war. To the Sultan a state of internal upheaval was always an invitation from fate to enter the country, and so he hastened forward. Despot George had been forced by the Sultan in 1435 to give him his daughter Mara in marriage, and the Ottoman ruler now made a peremptory demand that the Despot should hand over the fortress of Smederevo, to be used as a base of operations against Hungary. Upon the refusal of George to yield to that demand the Servian Despotat was attacked by a huge Turkish army On all sides the land was wasted and plundered by the invaders. In 1439 the Sultan came personally to lay siege to Smederevo, while a second

army besieged Novo Brdo, and a third, composed of small bands, plundered and devastated the land. Despot George, taking with him his wife Yerina and his youngest son Lazar, went to Hungary where he hoped to find help. In that country, however, where King Albrecht had died after a two years' reign, the strife for the succession was raging with even greater violence than before. Elizabeth, Albrecht's widowed Queen, fought to preserve the crown for Ladislas her son, the posthumous heir of Albrecht. Opposed to her was Vladislav, King of Poland, whom the Hungarians had elected as their King. As the conditions in Hungary made it evident to Despot George that he could not hope to find troops there, he returned to the most southern province of the Servian Despotat, Zeta. Turkish armies were steadily forcing their way westward. Smederevo, in the north, had fallen, and the Despot's son, its defender, had been taken prisoner. Zeta and the southern part of the Despotat still offered stout resistance. Finally the Castle of Novo Brdo, which had suffered a three years' siege, surrendered, and all its defenders were put to the sword by the Turks.

After the fall of Novo Brdo and the greater part of Servia, the Turks pressed on against Bosnia. King Tvrtko II, in despair, offered Bosnia to the Serene Signory for occupation and defence. The Sultan at the same time prepared two armies to attack Hungary, one through Vallachia and Transylvania, the other through Servia.

The interior troubles in Hungary were still raging. The danger from the imminent and twofold Turkish

invasion made immediate measures for defence imperative, yet in the face of this peril, and in spite of the Pope's attempts to straighten out the interior tangle, the Hungarians seemed dazed and irresolute. It was only after a series of defeats inflicted on the Turks in Transylvania by the Vallachian (Roumanian) knight, Janko Hunyadi, and as a result of the strenuous endeavours of that great soldier and the Servian Despot George Brankovich, together with the readiness of Western Europe to aid in driving back the Turks, that it was possible in 1443 to organise in Hungary a formidable expedition against the Ottomans.

In that year the Sultan was occupied in repressing a revolt in Asia Minor, and the Hungarian-Servian-Polish army defeated the Turkish forces in several battles near Nish (Servia), and advanced to Sophia. Winter had come, and instead of acting according to the advice of the old Servian Despot to follow up the advantages gained, pursue the Turks without pause, and besiege Adrianople, the Hungarian-Polish King Vladislav, and Hunyadi, decided to return to Hungary, while Despot George was left in command of the garrisons. The Sultan then offered a ten years' truce to Hungary, which King Vladislav accepted, and which was arranged at Szegedin by Despot George. By the terms of that peace the Sultan agreed to return to Servia all of the territories of the Despotat. Public opinion in Hungary and in Western Europe, especially at the Vatican, was dissatisfied that the Christian armies should have accepted a truce after so many victories. Ignorance of the

change in the situation caused by the army's halt and subsequent withdrawal; miscalculation as to the ease with which the Turks could be chased from Europe; and the news that a Christian fleet was before Gallipoli were strong enough influences to override the soberer judgment of those who recognised the difficulty of the task and the comparative inadequacy of the military resources at command, and King Vladislav, who held the Pope's dispensation to break his oath when given to the infidel, prepared for a new campaign against the Turks.

Despot George re-entered Servia to receive back the Despotat from the Sultan according to the treaty of Szegedin. During his long sojourn in Hungary and other Western lands he had become convinced of the incapacity of Hungary and of Western Europe, under existing conditions, to succeed in driving the Turks back into Asia or to accomplish any decisive action against them sufficient to bar their advance. Firm in that belief, he had worked to bring about the peace of Szegedin, and when he saw that convention broken he had to judge whether his country would profit most by joining the Hungarians or by allying itself with Turkey. Further, there had as yet hardly been time for the complete transference of the Despotat from Turkish hands to that of the Servian ruler. Despot George decided to work in harmony with the Sultan.

On November 10, 1444, with the utter annihilation of the Hungarian army and the death of King

Vladislav at the battle of Varna, the Hungarian expedition against the Turks came to an abrupt end.

The independent territory south of Bosnia held by Sandal Hranich had become the heritage of his nephew Stephan Vouktchich Kossatcha, who took the title of Duke, or Hertzog—whence Herzegovina. Duke Stephan, who had, as a relative of Stephan Lazarovich, claimed Zeta, made peace with George Brankovich upon the restoration of Servia to the Despot. Then Venice renewed her attack on Zeta, which was the beginning of a long war with Despot George.

In Bosnia, after the death in November, 1443, of King Tvrtko II, the Bosnian Assembly elected as King, Stephan Thomas, the son of the former King Stephan Ostoya.

That election met with foreign opposition in support of the Hungarian magnate Herman of Cilli, who claimed the right of succession to the Bosnian throne by virtue of a treaty between the late King Tvrtko and King Sigismund. The new King Thomas had also to contend with the Bogomils, then a dominant factor in Bosnia, and because he had sent auxiliary troops to join the Hungarian army in the Varna campaign he had brought upon himself the hostility of a large part of the Bosnian nobles supported by Duke Stephan.

The Vallachian knight, Janko Hunyadi, who had become the Palatine Regent of Hungary, was a personal enemy of Herman of Cilli, but he was not able to give any effectual help to King Thomas, who had

looked for support from Hungary. King Thomas then turned to the Pope with whom he entered into an arrangement. However, after the decisive Hungarian defeat at Varna, the Bosnian King found it necessary to change his policy, and sought some means of conciliating the Turks and at the same time of entering into more sympathetic relations with the Servian Bogomils and with his fellow-ruler Duke Stephan of Herzegovina, who was himself a Bogomil. King Thomas then took as his Queen the daughter of Duke Stephan, Katharina, who on her marriage became a Catholic. She is that Katharina, Queen of Bosnia, whose tomb is in Rome in the Convent of Ara Cœli.

The new and friendly attitude of King Thomas toward the Bogomils brought down upon him the wrath of the Roman Catholic missionaries. The Roman Curia, however, by the advice of Janko Hunyadi, who was then preparing to levy new armies to go against the Turks, and realising the danger to the Catholic King's rule of rousing the Bosnian populations to revolt, counselled the missionaries to be patient and approved of King Thomas's policy.

The preparations for a great campaign against the Turks by Hunyadi, Palatine Regent of Hungary, were finally completed in the autumn of 1448. According to the plan of action, the Hungarian army was to move through central Servia southward to Kossovo, where a junction was to be effected with the forces of George Castriota Skender-Beg of Albania, who had been successfully fighting the Turks on his borders.

Despot George was then placed by Hunyadi in the

same dilemma as before the campaign of Varna, and again being sincerely convinced that the resources to be employed against the Ottomans were unequal to their task, he again refused to join in the expedition. Hunyadi answered that refusal by proclaiming the Servian Despot a traitor and all his castles and towns in Hungary confiscated, and he led the Hungarian army through Servia, treating it as an enemy's land, burning, pillaging, and leaving devastation and ruin in his track. Then at Kossovo, on the same battle-field where, fifty-nine years before, the Servian day was lost to the same foe, Hunyadi met the Turks in a three days' battle and shared the fate of the earlier Christian hosts. His army was annihilated. He himself, however, escaped from the battle, and fled back toward Hungary, journeying through Servia, disguised as a common wayfarer. Despot George gave orders for his capture and shut him up at Smederevo.

The Servian Despot, however, refused to comply with the Sultan's demand to hand over the captive to him, and allowed Hunyadi to escape and return to Hungary, on condition that all his property in Hungary which had been seized by the Palatine should be restored, and that the Hungarian ruler should also pay compensation to the Servian population whose lands had been wrecked by the Hungarian army on its southward march. These terms were agreed to with a solemn oath by Hunyadi himself and the Hungarian States Assembly, but immediately upon his release the Pope at Rome proclaimed that all oaths and promises sworn by Hunyadi and the Hungarian

Assembly to the Servian Despot were valueless, as being made to a non-Catholic. The Hungarians not only violated all those pledges, but began to arm against Servia, and war was averted only by George's consenting that the oaths of Hunyadi and the Hungarian States Assembly should be cancelled.

In the interest of the Christian cause and of general peace, George mediated between the Turks and the Hungarians, and obtained for Hungary a truce of seven years, a period which Hunyadi meant to use for the purpose of organising a new campaign against Turkey.

The general aspect of Europe and the Balkan Peninsula at that time was one of turmoil and broil. Every part of the European world was occupied in local strife, and no united effort of importance was to be hoped for from that seething sea of armed rivalries.

Bosnia, torn by interior strife between Bogomils and Catholics, was warring with Despot George for Srebrenitza; the Servian Despot at the same time was forced to defend Zeta against continual Venetian attack; Duke Stephan, who was attempting to emancipate his state economically, was in conflict with Ragusa, in which struggle also Venice, Hungary, and the Servian Despotat took part; Janko Hunyadi, the Hungarian Regent, was engaged in personal quarrels with Despot George; in Albania Venice was fighting against George Castriota Skender-Beg; in Italy the Serene Signory was at strife with the Pope and with Genoa; and the German Emperor, Frederick III, was at war with Hungary.

Those conditions of disorder and internal strife all over Europe left the Turks free to pursue their plans of conquest. When Sultan Mohammed II came to the Ottoman throne, in 1451, he was swift to perceive the advantage of the moment, and made ready to transfer his Capital from Adrianople to Constantinople. It was only on the eve of the actual downfall of that Capital that Europe at last began to realise the peril. The Pope and Venice hastily organised an expedition of succour. But the hour had sounded, and before the first reinforcements of relief could approach the scene, the Imperial City had fallen; the last Byzantine Emperor, Constantine Dragasces, lay dead in its streets, sword in hand, and in the place of the Cross, high above the ancient Church of St. Sophia there gleamed the Crescent.

1. FULL TIDE OF TURKISH CONQUEST. FALL OF THE INDEPENDENT SERVIAN STATES

The entrance into Constantinople of the Turks shocked and dismayed Europe. That which had never been seriously looked upon as possible by the Western Powers had suddenly become an accomplished fact, and Christendom was confronted with the appalling consequence of its indifferent and blind dallying. The Balkan States which lay furthest within the shadow knew that their days were numbered. Within the year the Ottoman Sultan sent a demand to Despot George to yield up Smederevo and several other strongholds, to be used as a base of attack upon Hungary. The aged Servian Ruler

sent back a refusal, and the Sultan marched on the Despotat. George went to Hungary to seek military reinforcements, leaving the Servian forces divided up into three corps. The first of these was stationed in the valley of the Sitnitza on Kossovo; the second, near Doubotchitza in southern Servia on the Morava line; the third was encamped in the north near Smederevo.

Sultan Mohammed II, leading his army in person, first came into contact with the Servian troops under Skobalich near Doubotchitza, and in a desperate battle the far smaller Servian force was able to thoroughly beat the Turks and to drive them back from the field. The Sultan withdrew and waited for reinforcements. When his army had been almost trebled he again went forward, meeting Skobalich near Vranya. There in a three days' battle the Servians were annihilated. Skobalich and several other Servian leaders were taken prisoners by the Sultan, who had them nailed to wheels and torn limb from limb. The Turks next met the third section of the Servian army near Smederevo, and were defeated and forced back on Krushevatz, where they were overtaken by Despot George, who had come southward reinforced by Hungarian auxiliaries under Janko Hunyadi. There in a stubborn battle the Ottoman army was again defeated and pursued by George up to Sophia (1454). Hunyadi and his auxiliaries after that returned to Hungary. Within a few months the Turks again began the invasion, which was the signal in the West for the Bosnians to besiege and take Srebrenitza, while Zeta was attacked by Venice, who instigated a Zetan nobleman, Stephan

Tzrnoyevich, to head a revolt against Despot George in order to make himself independent under the suzerainty of Venice.

The Servian Despot again went to Hungary to ask for help. Meanwhile the Turks were once more besieging Novo Brdo, which they had before taken and lost, and were assailing Prisren and many other Servian strongholds in the south, while Smederevo, in the north, was hard pressed by an army led by the Sultan in person. Finally the southern fortresses, waiting in vain for relief, were no longer able to hold out, and one by one, Novo Brdo, Prisren, Prilepatz, Prishtina, Gilan, etc., fell before the Turks. The news reached Despot George in Hungary, where his pleadings for troops were answered by theological discourses as to the relative claims of Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism, and the condition proposed that in return for succour he and the whole Servian people should abjure their faith and become Roman Catholics. Seeing that further efforts to obtain Hungarian help would be vain, and that the whole Despotat would soon be in Turkish hands, the Despot left Hungary and returned home to ask peace of the foe. The terms exacted by the Sultan were bitter. The whole of southern Servia up to the western Morava was to be ceded to Mohammed, with payment of a yearly tribute, and the furnishing of a Servian military contingent, and with free right of way for the Turkish army through the remaining Serb territories in the event of an attack on Hungary. [1]

[1] Novo Brdo surrendered under promise from the Sultan that the defenders and inhabitants were to remain safe and free. But when the fort-

In Bosnia a fight raged between King Thomas, Duke Stephan, and Venice for the possession of Croatia, and on the other hand between King Thomas and Herman of Cilli, who attempted to enforce his pretensions to the Bosnian throne. Sultan Mohammed unsuccessfully besieged Belgrade, then in Hungarian hands, in 1456. King Thomas of Bosnia thereupon, under Hungarian suggestion, denounced his treaty with Turkey. But that expected support failed him as after the death of Janko Hunyadi, who had died during the siege of Belgrade, the families of Hunyadi and of Herman of Cilli engaged in factional fights which for the time paralysed the State in Hungary.

In December, 1456, Despot George died nearly at the age of ninety, in soldier's harness to the last, having as a boy known the old Servian Empire before Kossovo, and having ceaselessly fought through all the years of his long life a losing fight. George was succeeded by Lazar, the youngest of his three sons, the two elder ones having been blinded by Sultan Mourad II.

In Bosnia King Thomas now sought on all sides for help against the Sultan. The Pope called for a

ress had surrendered the Sultan ordered that the population should all go out of the Castle through a certain gate, the others remaining shut. The Sultan himself stood at the open gate near the issuing stream of Servians. They were separated at his order into groups, the women according to youth and beauty, the men according to youth and strength. The chief men and notables were sifted from the rest of the population, and at a signal given by the Sultan they were then and there slaughtered. Seven hundred women and girls were bestowed as slaves upon the Sultan's leaders, and over three hundred young men and boys were taken to be enrolled in the Janissaries in Asia Minor. The old men and women were turned out into the land to wander where they might.

crusade, but the antagonism between the Western States and their conflicting personal schemes prevented them from responding to the Pope's appeal. Bosnia was left alone to fight against the Turks as best she could, and King Thomas, in 1458, was finally obliged to accept from the Sultan hard terms of peace similar to those which had been imposed upon the Servian Despotat.

In January, 1458, Despot Lazar died after reigning two years. At once upon his death the Despotat was menaced on the south by a Turkish invasion, on the north by a Hungarian army, and on the west King Thomas again attacked Srebrenitza and invaded the region on the left banks of the river Drina.

At Smederevo the Servian National Assembly elected Lazar's elder brother, the blind Stephan, as Despot, and with him two Regents: Helen, the widow of Despot Lazar, and the Voyvod Michael Angelovich Abogovich, whose brother, who had been carried away by the Turks as a child from the first siege of Novo Brdo, was the Sultan's Grand Vizir.

Two parties existed in the Servian State in regard to the foreign policy that would most securely safeguard what was left of the Despotat. One party headed by the Regent Helen, argued that with Hungary's help the fight could be continued against Turkey. The opposing party, led by Michael Angelovich, urged that in the light of past experience no reliance could be placed upon Hungary, that for the moment, further fighting, considering the insufficient resources at command and the exhaustion of the

country, would be suicidal, and that instead of useless sacrifice, it would be wiser to come to an understanding with Turkey, and so survive to await better days. The controversy between these parties and their supporters was violent, and came to the point of arms. Michael Angelovich was killed and the situation was left in the hands of the pro-Hungarians. The immediate result was that the Hungarians intervened in the Servian Despotat, demanding the dethronement of the blind Despot Stephan and the proclamation as Despot in his stead of the son of the King of Bosnia, Stephan Tomashevich. The pro-Hungarian party then arranged with the King of Bosnia that Princess Mara, the daughter of Despot Lazar, should marry Tomashevich, who upon the death of his father would unite Bosnia and Servia under his single rule. That arrangement was finally approved by King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary (son of Janko Hunyadi). The blind Despot Stephan and many Servians with him were driven out of the country.[1]

The Bosnian Crown-Prince Stephan Tomashevich came with Hungarian troops in the spring of 1459 to Smederevo, where he married Mara and was proclaimed Servian Despot by the Hungarians. Some weeks later the Sultan, claiming that the overthrow of the rightful Despot, the blind Stephan, gave him the right of succession, invaded the Despotat. Upon

[1] The blind Despot Stephan went to Albania to some relatives, where later he married Angelina, the daughter of Arianit Topia Comnen, an Albanian nobleman, who bore him two sons, destined afterward to be Servian Despots in Hungary.

the announcement that the Sultan's army was approaching the walls of Smederevo the Hungarian troops took flight, and with them the newly proclaimed Despot the son of the Bosnian King. When Sultan Mohammed II arrived before the gates of that undefended city, the people, preferring to own allegiance to the Turk rather than become the victims of Roman Catholic persecution, opened the gates and gave the keys into the hands of the Sultan on June 20, 1459. From that day forth for three hundred and forty-four years the main territories of Servia remained an integral part of the Turkish Empire.

The final fall of Smederevo and of the Servian Despotat, following by a few short years the conquest of Constantinople, spread new alarm throughout Western Europe. But, as in the earlier crisis, nothing had been done by Europe to prevent the catastrophe, so here again nothing was undertaken to remedy the ill or hinder its extension.

Venice refused rightly to enter any of the smaller combinations against the Turks, judging them inadequate and foredoomed to failure. Hungary appeared oblivious of the peril at her borders, and went to war with the German Emperor Frederick III of Hapsburg. So far as Europe was concerned the Turks were virtually given a free hand in Servian lands.

In 1460 King Thomas of Bosnia was forced to yield further concessions to the Sultan, who at the same time brought heavy pressure to bear upon Duke Stephan of Herzegovina. The policy of Duke

Stephan had been to temporise with the Turks, avoiding provocation as well as might be, but he now saw that such methods brought, in the long run, no better results than fighting boldly in the open, and contesting all advance, whether peaceful or warlike, and he, too, was obliged to accept terms dictated by Sultan Mohammed II.

King Thomas again resorted to the expedient of offering Bosnia to Venice. That offer the Serene Signory, in view of the encumbrances of the gift, again refused.

After the death of King Thomas some months later, in 1461, and with the accession of his son to the throne, the days of Bosnian independence drew rapidly to an end. Hardly had the new King mounted the throne than a Hungarian army on the north and a Turkish army on the west prepared to enter Bosnia. In the interior there prevailed a condition of disorder and distress, occasioned by renewed Roman Catholic persecutions of Bogomil and Orthodox Christians. The Bosnian King appealed to the Pope for help against the Turks, and also came to an agreement for united defence with Duke Stephan of Herzegovina. The Pope sent a legate to Bosnia to crown Stephan Tomashevich, and this papal recognition of the Bosnian King's sovereignty angered the King of Hungary, Mathias Corvinus. The Pope, who appreciated the full liberty allowed his missionaries by the Bosnian King in their work of forcing conversions, undertook to reconcile the two rulers, between whom he created a league against the Turks. By that convention the King of Bosnia pledged himself

to refuse to pay further Turkish tribute. In Bosnia, meanwhile, the forced conversions to Catholicism, attended by persecutions and confiscations of property, filled the Turkish camp with Bosnian refugees. In the midst of the gathering storm the Bosnian King, in compliance with his promise to the Hungarians, denounced the peace treaty with the Sultan, expecting in return for that compliance to receive from the King of Hungary and the Pope the fulfilment of their promise to furnish him with auxiliary troops. His hopes were doomed to disappointment, no assistance came to him from either side, and King Stephan Tomashevich was left in a position which obliged him to send ambassadors to the Turks to sue for peace.

His efforts were of no avail. The Grand Turk made a feint of agreeing to a fifteen years' truce, but before the Bosnian messengers could even reach their own country again the Sultan followed at their heels with 150,000 horsemen. Meanwhile the main mass of the population, being Bogomil or Orthodox, had been brought by the religious persecutions to such a state of despair that they almost hailed the Turkish invaders as deliverers from miseries they could no longer endure, and castle after castle gave up its keys and opened its gates. In such a way the strongest fortress in Bosnia, Bobovatz, was surrendered by the Bogomil nobleman Radak. Within a few days the Sultan found himself master of most of the land. The wretched King fled but was taken by the Sultan in his stronghold of Klyutch and forced to give orders to the few nobles who still de-

fended their castles to surrender them into the hands of Mohammed, who thus without a single great battle entered into complete possession of Bosnia in June, 1463. At the Sultan's commands, King Stephan Tomashevich and a number of the greater nobles were beheaded. Never was there another King in Bosnia, which remained in Turkish hands through the hundreds of years to come.

At the moment when the Turkish invasion had entered the land from the south-east a Hungarian army invaded the northern part, plundering and burning, and annexing the districts adjacent to the border, out of which were formed two Hungarian Banats.

From Bosnia the Sultan turned against Herzegovina, which bravely defended itself, holding the Turks at bay and finally forcing them back. Two years later, in 1465, the Turks returned again to the attack and were again driven back. On May 22, 1466, Duke Stephan Vouktchich Kossatcha died and was succeeded by his son. In 1474 the Turks for the third time unsuccessfully attempted to subdue Herzegovina, while from the Albanian side a simultaneous attack was being made in vain on Zeta and the Venetian coast towns.

The same year began a two years' Turkish war in Vallachia, and in 1476 the Servian Despot from southern Hungary made expeditions into the Morava Valley and into Bosnia, diverting the Sultan's full attention to those regions. It was only in 1477 that the Turkish army was again able to invade Zeta. They

took Scutari (Skodra) and obliged Ivan Tzrnoyevich to take refuge in Italy. The Turks also in those campaigns gained some points of vantage in Herzegovina, which they finally occupied in 1481. The reigning Duke Vladislav, with one brother, retired to Dalmatia, while his younger brother became a Mohammedan and entered the Sultan's service as a Vizir.

In 1481 the death of Sultan Mohammed was followed by conflicts over the succession. Ivan Tzrnoyevich returned from Italy and re-entered Zeta, where he fortified himself in the high mountainous region, abandoning the plain as indefensible, and recognised Turkish suzerainty. In order to avenge a former betrayal by Venice, he attacked the Venetian possessions on the Zetan coast line.

After the death of Ivan Tzrnoyevich in 1490 he was succeeded by his sons George and Stephan.

In 1495, when the French King Charles VIII had occupied the Kingdom of Naples and menaced Turkey with war, his plans compromised George, who for that cause was forced to leave Zeta to the rule of his brother Stephan. He in his turn, at the time of the war between Turkey and Venice in 1499, was compelled to leave Zeta. With that desertion the Turks' work of the destruction of every Servian State formation was complete. The only remaining relics of past independence resided in the Clans, which were numerous throughout the mountainous regions of Zeta, Herzegovina, and Rashka.

The defeat of the Servians by the Turks at the battle of the Maritza River in 1371 made the first

breach in Servian power. That Ottoman victory, with the easy occupation of Bulgaria, made the Turkish foothold in the Balkans secure. The Ottoman victory at Kossovo in 1389, with the death of Knez Lazar, shattered his great plan to reconstitute the Servian Empire and drive out the Turks, and because of the general European political conditions annihilated the very possibility of that plan being again put forward.

From that day on to the final fall of the last of the Serb lands to be conquered, the fight of the Servians was a deadly battle at close quarters, hand to hand, first on the threshold, then within the walls, in defence of hearth and home. For the first fifty years the Turks were continually beaten back and held at bay, and in the second half only of that long contest were they finally able to begin to make progress step by step.

The Turks on coming into possession of the land found the Servian people battle-worn and broken, and during the first few years of occupation the superposed Turkish administration, modifying local affairs but slightly, made a kind of *modus vivendi* possible between the conqueror and the people. But conditions soon became more unbearable, and as time wore on the yoke grew increasingly heavier, until, goaded by their misery, the people, especially in Bosnia, followed those among their nobles who became Mohammedans, or else threw in their lot desperately with others of their leaders who again and again attempted to rise in revolt or went over to Hungary. The Servians who moved northward to Hungary were filled

Monastery of Lyubostina, built by Tsarina Militza, wife of Tsar Lazar. Here her body now reposes

with the hope, held before their eyes by the Hungarian Kings, of uniting forces with the Servians already within the Hungarian borders, and operating from there as a new basis of organising a continued struggle against the Turks to reconquer their lost fatherland.

Among the dynastic families which ruled in the various Servian States into which the Empire had become subdivided, none became Mohammedan except the Tzrnoyevich of Zeta, one branch of the Herzegovinian Vouktchich Kossatcha, and all but one of the branches of the family of King Voukashin (who had seceded from the authority of Emperor Ourosh). The heirs of the other dynasties endeavoured in various quarters of Europe to gain help for their country, but without success. Some of these Princes remained in foreign lands where their names died out, others returned to their homes and their Clans. The last of such attempts to persuade a great European Power to intervene for the revival of the Servian State occurred in the third quarter of the eighteenth century.[1]

The only one of these dynastic families who for a certain time retained some power was that of the descendants of Despot George Brankovich, who after the fall of the Servian Despotat went to southern Hungary where they were offered a strip of the dev-

[1] That attempt, recorded in documents belonging to the State Archives of France, was made in 1774 by a member of the Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich family, then residing in Prussian Silesia, the birthplace of the author's great-grandfather. The records referred to were discovered in the French Archives by the Jurisconsult and historian V. Bogishich who published an account of that discovery in 1875.

astated territory along the Hungaro-Turkish border with the stipulation that it was to be settled with Servian emigrants and form the military defence of Hungary against the Turks. This Servian military State within the State of Hungary was to include all Servians settled in Hungary under promise of certain privileges. It was to be under the authority of a leader of the Servian nation appointed by the King of Hungary.

At the time of the fall of Bosnia before the Turks, the King of Hungary occupied some of the northern Bosnian districts, creating out of them two Banats, Oussora and Donye Krayevie, which during their short existence he styled the "Kingdom of Bosnia," conferring the title of "King of Bosnia" upon the Croat nobleman Nicolas de Illok.

Prior to the time of the coming of the Magyars into Panonia (Hungary) the land was peopled by a Slavonic race, and since then the southern parts have always been settled by Servians. The early State formations of those old Slavonic inhabitants had been obliged to recognise the over-lordship of Huns and Avars, and finally in the tenth century were broken and annihilated by the Magyar invasion. When the Hungarian State came into being through its recognition by the Pope, there was no dominant nationality among the several peoples—Slovack, Slovene, Serb, Roumain, German, and Magyar—which composed the population. It was a feudal formation, centering in the authority of the crown—"the Crown of St.

Stephan"—[1] representing the nobility. The official language, the language of the Assembly and all public acts, was Latin. The social division of the population into "Classes" had overridden that of nationality and all others.

The main mass of the people, composed of agriculturalists, mostly Slavs and Roumains, possessed no individual national life, and as they formed the lowest social stratum their lot was hard.

The Servians who answered the invitation to settle in Hungary, attracted by the offer of special privilege, and who assumed in return for those promised benefits the duty of defending the country, becoming as it were a nation in arms, found in Hungary difficult conditions which they had not foreseen. The Hungarian nobles looked askance upon the Servian noblemen among the new-comers, considering the privileges granted to them as a personal infringement of their own special rights and the occupation of the land allotted them as an usurpation. The Servian commoners whose conditions and status in Servian lands were much superior to those of the peasant class in Hungary found themselves the object of the envy and hatred of those who, as agriculturalists, should have belonged to their own class.

It came about that the Servians who went to Hungary trusting to find freedom and security there were forced not only to fight the Turks, but to withstand the continual attempts of the Hungarians to bring them to the level of the Hungarian serf-peasant and

[1] To-day the official title of Hungary is "The Lands of the Crown of St. Stephan."

to resist the unceasing Hungarian efforts to suppress their religious faith.

King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary occupied his entire reign with wars against Frederick III of Austria, and undertook no serious Hungarian expedition against the Turks.

After the fall of the Servian Despotat and of Bosnia, in order to protect the Hungarian territory from the Turkish raids and to gain the fullest Servian cooperation against the Turks, King Mathias placed Vouk Brankovich Zmay (1471–85), with the title of Despot at the head of the Servians in Hungary. Although Despot Vouk Zmay was accorded no territory, but only certain privileges for the Servians, the Hungarian King's policy attained its object. The Servians fought the fight of Hungary under Despot Vouk Zmay. They warred against the Turks in the Matchva, around Smederevo in the Morava Valley, in 1476; in Bosnia in 1479 they advanced up to Vrh-Bosna; the same year in Servia they defeated a Turkish army; following up that victory they went through the Morava Valley to Krushevatz, which they occupied. Being forced to retreat from that place, their ranks were augmented by 20,000 Servians who, escaping from Turkish rule, accompanied them to Hungary.

After the death of Despot Vouk Zmay at Slankamen, in Syrmia, in 1485, King Mathias, calculating upon the value of the Servian military service, offered the headship of the Servians in Hungary and the title of Despot to the two sons of the last Servian sovereign, Despot Stephan. They were

living at that time with their mother, Angelina, in Frioul, on their estate held in fief from the German Emperor Frederick III of Hapsburg. Emperor Frederick had bestowed upon them that property in his domains on account of the value to him in his wars with Hungary of having in his power members of former Servian dynasties.[1]

George, the eldest of the two brothers, accepted from the Hungarian King the title of Despot, and a fief in Syrmia which included the towns and districts of Koupinovo, Berkasovo, Kroushevo, Kostaynitza, and others. Despot George II, whose health was weak, was obliged to carry on almost uninterrupted warfare against the Turks, and also to deal with interior strife caused by the attempted forcible catholicisation of the Serbs in Hungary. In 1499 he retired from the dignity of Despot, which he placed in the hands of his brother Iovan, and entered a monastery under the name of Maxim. He became afterward Bishop in the Servian Church, and was able to render valuable services to the cause of the Orthodox faith. Despot Iovan fought successfully and continually against the Turks for two years, dying in 1502. After him was nominated as Despot of the Servians, Stephan Shtilyanovich Knez of Zahoumlya, who was assassinated by Hungarians in 1515. The tombs of these three Despots and of Angelina are at the Monastery of Kroushedol, built by Despot George in Syrmia.

[1] The domain and castle "Belgradjik" was, according to a document in the archives of Venice, sold to the Serene Signory of Venice in 1487 by them. The deed of sale bears also the signature of Ivanisha Hrebelianovich.

2. THE TURKS CONQUER HUNGARY AND BESIEGE VIENNA

After the death of the Hungarian King Mathias Corvinus in 1490, and the accession to the throne of Vladislav who, on his death, was succeeded in 1516 by Ludwig II, there began a period of turbulence and upheaval among the people, and Hungary was long in the throes of wide-spread peasant risings. Those conditions favoured the Turkish designs which, after great victories in Palestine and Egypt, were now centred upon the conquest of Hungary.

Previous Ottoman expeditions against Hungary had been undertaken from the eastern approach through Vallachia, which was occupied by the Turks in 1484. On August 29, 1521, the Sultan took Belgrade, then held by the Hungarians, thus opening the road from the north.

The fall of Belgrade gave timely warning. Then only did the Hungarian King begin serious war preparations to meet the peril. His first move was to hastily grant some favours to the Servians, to whom former promises made under like conditions had not been redeemed. During ten years they had been left without a leader or any national representative to enforce their rights. King Ludwig hastened to appoint as Servian Despot Stephan Berislavich. But although the Servians rallied around Berislavich and other Servian leaders, the war preparations of the Hungarian King had been too tardily undertaken, and there was no time to organise proper resistance against the Moslem invaders.

The army composed of Servians and Hungarians which was hastily thrown together endeavoured in vain to oppose the Turks, and at the historic battle of Mohatch, on August 29, 1526, the Hungaro-Serb army was annihilated. That defeat was decisive, King Ludwig himself perishing in the fight. The Ottoman army advanced against only slight further resistance, and took Buda-Pesth and placed the whole of Hungary, except some western and northern districts, under submission to the Sultan.

The Sultan, Suleyman the Magnificent, as master of Hungary, then appointed and proclaimed Iovan Zapolya, a Servian nobleman who had already become Prince of Transylvania, King of Hungary. This act of the Sultan was in opposition to Ferdinand of Hapsburg, who held control of the western part of Hungary and to whom the majority of the Serbs in Hungary rallied as being the enemy of the Turks.

At that moment, "like a meteor," there appeared among the Serbs in Hungary a man from Herzegovina, who was called Tzar Iovan, a descendant of one of the old dynasties, who placed himself at the head of the nation. Immediately, as by a trumpet call, he drew about him a loyal force of ten thousand Serbs well organised and ready for action. Ferdinand of Austria treated with Iovan for help against the Turks and their nominee Zapolya. That contest weakened Iovan's power and localised his value to the Serbs. But he accomplished many gallant exploits, among others the punishments by raids of the Hungarian nobles who had been guilty of special acts of oppres-

sion against Servians. He was surprised and killed near Segedin in 1528.

The following year, in 1529, Sultan Suleyman besieged Vienna whose citizens had fled. The deeds of the Servian Paul Bakich and his Servian troops made it possible for the Austrians to repulse the Ottoman army and force it to raise the siege. The Hungarian historian Istvanfi, in his history of Hungary, says (page 163): "It was the Serb Bakich who saved Vienna."

The siege of Vienna and Turkish piracy in the Mediterranean roused Germany and Italy to a sense of imminent peril, but no concerted action resulted.

The Reformation movement, begun by Martin Luther in 1517, had brought Germany to the brink of civil war. Germany was also at war with France, whose King, Francis I, sought Ottoman help, and in 1535 concluded with the Sultan Suleyman a treaty of alliance between France and Turkey. Since that time the policy of France has always supported Ottoman development in Europe.

The Reformation idea was spreading like flame through Europe. The Pope in order to turn the new religious ardour to other account, and divert general attention and effort in other directions, again agitated the question of a general European coalition against Turkey. Venice and Genoa were the first to support the Pope's proposal as they were already beginning to feel the competition created by the Portuguese through their newly discovered trade

route around the Cape of Good Hope to India, and by Spain through the newly discovered continent of America and the West Indies. Venetian and Genoese commerce were also suffering from the insecurity of the old land routes to the East, through Asia and Arabia, resulting from the Turkish wars of conquest in those regions, and from Turkish piracy in the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the great endeavours of the Pope and Venice, through negotiations, preachings, and writings, to incite the countries of Europe to a joint crusade against the Turks, nothing was accomplished. The Hapsburgs, Charles V, German Emperor and King of Spain, and his brother Ferdinand, King of Bohemia and Hungary, were entirely taken up with the interior conditions resulting from the Reformation, and many complicated difficulties with France.

The task of meeting and resisting the Turks was left almost solely to the Serbs, who rallied to the Hapsburg Imperial Standard. During that period, as recorded by history, Servian arms, by many heroic deeds and far-famed exploits, won imperishable laurels. Finally, in 1547, Ferdinand of Hapsburg as King of Hungary was forced to conclude a peace with the Sultan according to which he recognised the Sultan as Suzerain of Hungary, and paid a yearly tribute, which continued to be paid by the Hapsburg Kings for sixty years, up to 1606.

At the date of that treaty the Turkish Empire had attained the zenith of its power, and the extreme extension of its boundaries stretching from the Persian Gulf to the doors of Vienna, and from Persia to

the borders of Morocco. The Black Sea and the Mediterranean were Turkish waters.

All of the Serb lands and the Servian race had been engulfed in the vast Ottoman conquest with the exception of the independent Clan Confederations in the high mountains of Montenegro and Rashka. Many of those Clans managed to maintain their independence throughout the whole period of Turkish domination up to the present time.

3. RE-ERECTION OF THE SERVIAN PATRIARCHAT AS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE SERVIAN PEOPLE AND THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. SERVIAN INSURRECTIONS

The main mass of Servians everywhere, though under military subjection to Ottoman rule, remained unreconciled and continually furnished recruits and support to the foreign armies which warred against the Turks. Those armies were, in fact, made up for the most part of Servian recruits.

Sultan Suleyman the Magnificent planned to consolidate his vast empire through the imposition of his code of Laws or Khanouns. He realised the danger to Ottoman rule of the unreconciled attitude of the virile Servian race, and recognised the necessity of placating them.

The Servians again and again had striven to obtain the reconstitution of the Servian Patriarchat and their National Church, in which they saw the sole representative institution of their race able to afford them protection and guard their national aspirations.

After a meeting between the Turkish Grand Vizir Mehemet Sokolovich and his brother the Servian Monk Macarius to consider this subject, Sultan Suleyman, acting on the advice of his Grand Vizir Sokolovich, proclaimed by an Imperial Berat the re-establishment of the independent National Servian Church under the sole authority of a Servian Patriarch and the appointment of the Monk Macarius as Patriarch.

Macarius and the men working with him who at once begain to thoroughly restore and organise the administration of the Church and the Patriarchat, understood well the magnitude of their task and its value to the Servian people. All of the Servian territories under Turkish domination were included in the new See. The character of the organisation was not only ecclesiastical, but civil and political. The Servian Patriarch became the head of the Nation, which was thus brought into a united whole. In the struggles which were to come, movements in the national interest were no longer local and sporadic but representative, and were manifested wherever there were Servians.

This Church establishment mitigated in a measure the position of the Servians and was accepted by many as at least a temporary compromise. A certain number of Servians stubbornly refused any terms of submission to Turkish domination; these were the Ouskoks and the Heyduks, who from forests and mountain fastnesses carried on a constant guerilla warfare against the Turks during all these centu-

ries, so long as there remained a Turkish master in the land.

When the Sultan occupied Herzegovina many of the inhabitants retreated to the fortress of Kliss, in Dalmatia, which they made a rallying-point for continual attacks on the Turks. When the Ottomans seized Klis in 1537 those Serbs removed their headquarters to Senye, entering the Austrian service and accepting the duty of protecting the Austrian border from Turkish raids. Those men were known as Ouskoks. Venice, which held most of Dalmatia, arranged with the Turks in return for commerical privileges to protect Ottoman subjects from the Ouskoks. The Ouskoks in their exploits against Turkey had found it convenient to cross Venetian territory. In answer to Turkish protests on the subject, the Serene Signory, after having in vain exhausted all peaceable means of persuading the Ouskoks to take some other route, began to drive them out of the Venetian lands. The Ouskoks answered with reprisals, raiding parts of Dalmatia, and carrying their attacks on to the sea, where they proved a terror to Venetian shipping.

The Servian people could have no reasonable expectation of freeing themselves unaided from their Moslem conquerors, and hoped always that assistance would come to them from some Western Christian Power. In all the plans that were made during the sixteenth century in the great Western countries for driving the Turk from Europe, the rising of the Ser-

vians was always mentioned as a most important factor. This appears in all the large mass of literature of that period setting forth these different schemes. Of all conditions urged to prove that such undertakings were sure of success, the Serb rising always appeared as the element that was most potent and most to be relied upon. Many were the schemes mooted and the negotiations carried on between the Great Powers for a coalition against the "infidel," but all to no definite result. The questions of equitable separation of the booty to be captured, of how the lands when regained were to be divided up among the countries of Europe, of who should be allowed the pre-eminence of leading in the Great Attack, etc.; all these considerations bred mutual distrust and stultified all impulses toward joint action. The jealousy was so pronounced that if any State chanced to find itself at war with Turkey it was hindered instead of helped by the others. That was the period when adventurers, many of whom had never set eyes on Balkan lands, travelled from Court to Court in Europe collecting funds for an Ottoman conquest, giving fantastic accounts of those lands and their fabulous riches, of the ease with which the Turks could be chased out, and of the thrones standing empty and to be had for the seeking, waiting but to be occupied by younger sons or other scions of reigning European dynasties.[1] The harvest gathered by these men was often rich. The eloquent en-

[1] There is to-day in Europe more than one well-known family whose patent of nobility dates from that epoch and whose fortune was gleaned by this ingenuous method of the conquest of the "Golden Fleece."

deavours of those adventurers had at least one good result, in directing general European attention more intimately to the Balkan regions.

Spain, at that time near her apogee, having finally driven the Saracens out of the Peninsula across the Straits of Gibraltar and pursued them into Africa, and having simultaneously come into possession of the great discoveries of Columbus beyond the ocean, was ready to intervene in the Balkans as an act against Islam, and also in the interest of her commerce, to try to sweep the Turkish pirates from the Mediterranean. Spain offered the Pope her resources to be joined to those of the Courts allied with her for a campaign against the Grand Turk. Venice, fearing to see her interests in the Orient overridden by Spain, opposed these plans, and worked to undo them.

As the Papal and Spanish designs counted upon Servian co-operation, so Venice, too, invoked Servian support for her plans which were opposed to those of the Pope and Spain.

One of the few occasions when the Papal, Spanish, and Venetian efforts were united was in the war against Turkey in 1570. But in spite of the stirring victory of that expedition, the battle of Lepanto in 1571, when the whole Turkish fleet was destroyed by the Spanish fleet under Don Juan d' Austria, the war accomplished no important result.

Insurrection of "Saint Sava."—During the later period of the sixteenth century the whole of the Servian lands were in a latent condition of revolt, which broke through the surface of Turkish control again and again.

In 1575 the Clans of the Brdas rose in arms and refused to pay the taxes. There were outbreaks in Herzegovina and others as far north as the Servian Banat in southern Hungary.

Pope Clement VIII endeavoured to profit by those conditions to form an anti-Turkish coalition among the Western Powers. His efforts were in vain owing to the general state of war in Europe, in which several of the rulers were actually contesting for the Turkish alliance!

In 1593 a Turkish army from Bosnia raided the territory of Croatia, meeting with defeat at Sissek on June 22 of that year. In the war which ensued between Austria and Turkey the Papal Curia sought to find support for the Hapsburg power in the alliance of Vallachia, Moldavia, Poland, and Russia, with which Venice was to work in good understanding.

Venice was at cross-purposes with Austria in Dalmatia, which was an obstacle in the way of hearty Venetian co-operation against the common enemy. The state of affairs throughout the Hapsburg lands was unpropitious to any action against the Turks. The rapid spread of the Lutheran and Calvinist Faith divided the inhabitants sharply into two opposing camps, pitted against each other with ferocious, almost fanatical zeal. In Hungary large numbers flocked to the Protestant standard and ranged themselves as anti-Hapsburg which meant being pro-Turk. The vast commercial interests of Venice in the Orient called for the maintenance of the *status quo*. Italy, under several masters, was occupied with local problems. England as yet had not entered the

arena of Near-Eastern interests, and France, in the midst of her long contest with the Hapsburgs, was in alliance with the Turks. The only solid basis of support to be hoped for by Austria in a war against the Turks lay in an alliance with the three principalities (Roumanian) Transylvania, Vallachia, and Moldavia, and especially in a great Serb uprising.

The Austrian army fought several successful actions in northern Hungary which immediately called forth a Servian insurrection in south-eastern Hungary. The intention of the insurgents was to support the Austrian action by impeding the northward progress of the Turkish army. The troops which had been promised from Transylvania to aid the Servian insurrectionists failed to arrive, as did also arms and ammunition promised by Austria. The insurgents who were lacking in arms and ammunition were still able to defeat the Turks in several engagements, but finally, being cut off by the enemy from all outside communications, the insurrection in the Banat subsided. That insurrection was organised by Theodor, Servian Bishop of Vershatz, assisted by Ban Sava and Voyvod Velimirovich. While the Turks were suppressing the Banat rising, they were also putting down the movements in the three Roumanian Principalities. Simultaneously with the uprising in the Banat a revolt broke out in Syrmia under the leadership of Louka Senkovich and a wide-spread insurrectional movement in the Brdas, Herzegovina, northern Albania, Rashka (to-day Novi Bazar), and south-western Servia (of modern Servia) under the leadership of Iovan II, Servian Patriarch from 1592–

1614. This action of the Servian Patriarch and the Bishops in openly supporting the popular movements for liberation, was bold and dangerous as it involved and compromised the whole situation in the Turkish State of the Servian National Church. On account of the gravity of the movement and the lack of arms and ammunition the insurrection developed at first slowly and with much uncertainty. By degrees the Neapolitans, then the Spanish, got munitions of war into the country through the lower Adriatic coast. The Servians appealed also to Austria for help, and the Serb Ouskoks began fighting to retake Klis. The whole insurrectional movement had the character of guerilla warfare, for which the general geographical conditions of these countries are especially adapted. The Servian Patriarch consecrated the cause by placing it under the protection of Saint Sava, and adopting as its standard that saint's picture, borne on the old national colours of red, blue, and white. This great uprising is known in history as "The Insurrection of Saint Sava."

The guerillas scoured the country as far eastward as Sophia, which they attacked and occupied. The Saint Sava movement became a menace to the Turkish operations in Hungary, and Sinan Pasha, the Sultan's Grand Vizir commanding the Ottoman army, thinking to strike terror and superstitious despair into the Servian mind, sent the Bey Ahmed Odjouz to bring Saint Sava's body from its tomb at Mileshevo to Belgrade, where on the hill of Vratchar outside of the city, on April 28, 1595, the saint's relics were publicly burned. The expectation of the Turks that the destruction of Saint Sava's

body would immediately cause the Servians to lose their faith in his power and sanctity, was disappointed. Sava became doubly potent as saint and martyr to the national cause. The Sultan's act was followed by the showing of new vigour in the guerilla operations. Sinan Pasha, then in Vallachia, found it necessary to retreat back across the Danube nearer to his base. In 1596 the fortress of Klis was taken by the Ouskoks. These Turkish failures were not to the liking of the Serene Signory of Venice, whose commerce suffered much by the generally disturbed conditions, and Venice undertook repressive measures against both the Ouskoks and the guerillas who then were forced to fight both Turks and Venetians. Austria, in her own interest, was at that time supporting the guerillas and Ouskoks, and the issue shifted to a conflict between Austria and Venice.

The Servian insurrection had been steadily accumulating strength, and by 1597 had assumed formidable proportions, headed by Voyvod Grdan of Herzegovina, whose organisation gained the co-operation of the Catholic Clans in the districts of Kroya, Scutari, Lesh, Dratch, and Prisren.

The policy of Venice, being opposed to that of the Servians, the Austrians, and the Spanish, paralysed all effectual actions of those Powers against the Turks, and Pope Clement VIII, at length losing hope of being able to cope with these discouraging conditions, ceased his efforts to make a coalition against the Ottomans.

During the first years of the seventeenth century, after the aid promised to the Servians had many times failed them, the Servian rebellion resolved it-

self into local and restricted guerilla exploits. Such success as the local victory over Turks by Servians near Klis in 1603, the defeat of a Turkish army by the Montenegrins at Leyshkopolye in 1604, involved deeds of great heroism, but were of moral value only.

Up to the time of the conclusion of the peace of Zhitva-Torok, November, 1606, between the Austrians and the Turks, containing terms favourable to Austria, the Servians had worked in harmony in the north with Austria and in the south with Spain. After that date the Austrians having for the moment no further need of Servian services, withdrew all support from the Servian cause, and the Serbs turned southward toward Spain, which in 1606 had successfully invested Durazzo from the sea. In 1609 Voyvod Grdan and Patriarch Iovan, both working with Spain, began to prepare for a new Servian insurrection on a large scale. On the Servian side preparations were fully completed, but as the Serbs had so often before found to their loss that promised aid had failed at the last hour, they exacted from Spain some initiative action to take place before the beginning of Serb hostilities. The sagacity of the Servians was justified by the impossibility in which the Spaniards found themselves of making the required demonstration. Besides which Venetian diplomacy was busy at the Spanish Court, as at all other European Courts, to prevent any disturbance of the *status quo* in the Balkans. The Spaniards, nevertheless, redoubled their protestations to the Servians, and as a result of Spanish agitation in 1608 an Assembly composed of all the Servian Clan-chiefs and leaders was held in Herzegovina, under the presidency of

the Patriarch Iovan II, to elect the Duke of Savoy Servian King and invite him to come to the Balkans and wrest the Servian throne from the Turks. In support of that plan the Serbs rose in 1609 in a revolt so determined that the Sultan was obliged to use his full strength to crush it.

On that occasion, as on all others, however, the Servians were left virtually without help from the outside. They could no longer entertain the illusion that they could count on any foreign assistance toward regaining their lost liberty.

More than once during that long period of insurrection they had, unaided, come very near their goal of driving out their Turkish master. Thenceforth, so long as the Ottoman was in the land until his final exit, the Servians never ceased from harrying the Turkish rule by guerilla attacks and maintained an undaunted spirit of resistance. But never again was any faith bestowed by the Serbs upon Western European promises, though many were the schemes propounded by various foreign emissaries. The Servian Church veered back again to the policy of Patriarch Macarius, to be content for the time with whatever freedom of action could be obtained from the Turks without bloodshed.

Then came the terrific period of the Thirty Years' War in Europe, diverting European interest entirely from the Balkan lands to Germany.

In the internal affairs of the Turkish State there began a process of disintegration. Dynastic conflicts and civil strifes weakened central Turkish

authority, throwing the entire administrative system into anarchy, complicated by a condition of complete corruption involving all officials, from the highest to the lowest. The situation of the Servians became more and more unhappy under the increasing exactions and arrogance of the Turkish officials.

Their literary life had been a much-appreciated resource to the Servians, and during the whole sixteenth century they had maintained many printing presses throughout the Servian lands, but even that outlet of expression and of intellectual enjoyment was taken from them. The printing presses were suppressed, and a period of mental stagnation followed. The time was one of reaction from the long strain of almost superhuman effort which had been put forth during the long period of insurrections and of the efforts to resist the Turkish conquest; and notwithstanding the never-ceasing activities of the Heyduks, there was over the whole land a sense of exhaustion. The Ouskoks, whose name as intrepid and unconquerable fighters was famous throughout Europe, appeared for a time to flag in enterprise, their exploits becoming the monotonous repetition of raids on the Turks without any clearly defined purpose or inspiration.

Nevertheless there are many proofs that even during that listless period when the forces of the nation lay fallow the hope "for the better hour," as the old Servian toast says, never departed.

When Venice fought with Turkey over Creta, from 1645 to 1669, the Servian Clans of the Black

Mountain allied themselves with Venice and fought the Turk in support of that war. Their successes, however, were of only local interest, having no bearing on the Servian situation in general.

The Hapsburg Emperor, Rudolph II, had established by decree in 1598 the "Military Confines." That decree created out of a strip of Austrian territory lying next the Turkish borders a continuous chain of military districts under the command of Austrian generals. That decree invited the Serbs to settle in those districts, promising them freedom of worship, local self-government under their own elected chiefs, freedom from all servitude and tithes to the Catholic Clergy, and the right to wear their own national costumes as military dress. These men were called "Granitchari" ("Borderers").

In return for keeping the territory free from Turks and making part of the Austrian military forces, they were allotted parcels of land and a small military sold. They were organised into battalions and regiments. Those Granitchari which settled in the districts bordering the Danube River belonged to the "Shaikashi" battalion, so called because their duty was to man small, flat gunboats, called "shaikas," which operated along the Danube.

Those decrees relating to the military confines were nominally confirmed by succeeding Hapsburg Emperors; but the grant of privileges remained always more or less a dead letter; the uncertain character of the agrarian laws exposed the titles of the land ceded to the Servians to continual questioning,

while, contrary to the religious freedom promised, the Servians of the Orthodox Church were subjected to violent attempts to force them into Catholicism. Austria demonstrated in those transactions the insincerity and perfidy which has been always exemplified from that epoch up to the present time in her dealings with the Servians.

Then began for the Serbs in Hapsburg lands the long struggle in defence of their economic, religious, and national interests, which through coming centuries brought forth angry protests and often armed revolt.

CHAPTER XIII

REFLUX OF THE TURKISH TIDE—SERVIANS ON THE DEFENSIVE AGAINST TURKEY AND AUSTRIA

Review of the General Situation as it Affected the Near Orient During the Eighteenth Century.—From the end of the seventeenth century and during the eighteenth, the trend of the political and economical aims and necessities of the nations of Europe came to be more clearly defined, each State marking out distinct lines of advance and destination, which, in their mutual interference, form the web of the present day's world-issue known as the question of the Orient, into which is woven the tangle of the Near-Eastern Question.

By the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 the Hapsburg dogma of *dominium mundi* received a severe check.

The French King, Louis XIV, was soon afterward able, departing momentarily from the old Franco-Turkish policy, to offer his protecting hand to the Hapsburg Emperor, who was hard pressed by the Ottomans. Then it was, also, that Louis XIV indicated a policy of French expansion at the expense of Islam in the bombardment of Tunis and Algiers. The plan of the philosopher Leibnitz for the conquest of Egypt by France, in support of the large French commercial enterprises in India, had to lie fallow until the time of Napoleon, because of events in England and Holland, which drew the French King into war with those Powers, who found their natural ally in the Hapsburg Emperor.

In 1683 the victory of Kahlenberg when the Polish King, Ian Sobiesky, fighting as an ally of the Hapsburg Emperor, forced the Turks to raise the siege of Vienna, marked the moment when the great tide of Turkish conquest in Europe commenced to recede eastward. Following the

impulse given by the Polish King, the Austrian troops, aided by the Servian people in a series of victories, pressed the Turks southward toward Belgrade. In 1684 the victory of Gran was won; in 1686 occurred the reconquest from the Turks of Buda-Pesth, the capital of Hungary, and in 1687 occurred the victory of Mohatch, which completed the reseizure of Hungary from the Turks. The Hapsburg army, composed largely of Servians, crossed the Danube and the Sava retook Belgrade in 1688, and, pressing on after the retreating Ottomans, stood, in 1689, on the plains of Kossovo, on that portentous battle-field which had seen the beginning, and then signalled the end, of three hundred years of Turkish conquest in Europe.

Among the allies of the Austrian Emperor in his advance against the Turks was Russia.

Freed from the Tartars, whom she had driven back across Asia, and freed by the Romanoffs from the domination of Poland, but barred on the north by Sweden, Russia turned southward to follow the banks of her rivers toward the Black Sea, and was brutally forced by Peter the Great into a place among European Powers, and heralded as the rightful successor to the throne of Byzance, claiming Constantinople.

With her appearance on the horizon as Slav and Orthodox Christian, Russia established an immediate affinity with the Servians, becoming the rival and opponent of the Hapsburgs in their designs for Balkan conquest.

The dawning of the wars over the right of succession to the Spanish throne claimed on one side by the Hapsburgs and on the other by Louis XIV for Philip of Anjou (Bourbon) brought about the conclusion of the Austro-Russo-Turkish war by the treaty of Karlovitz. That treaty, signed in 1699, recognised Austria as possessor of Hungary, gave Azoff, on the Black Sea, to Russia, and was the first treaty by which any Turkish Sultan relinquished vast tracts of conquered territory. The year following, the first battle-ship flying the Imperial Russian flag on the Black Sea appeared before Constantinople bearing an Embassy from Peter the Great to the Sublime Porte.

Through her natural impulse of expansion westward, Russia came into conflict with Sweden, defended by its soldier-king, Charles XII,

who, on being defeated at Poltava in 1709, took refuge in Turkey. There Charles XII convinced the Sultan of the danger to the Ottoman Empire from the Russian development, and pointed out the common interests for self-defence of Sweden and Turkey. The ensuing Russo-Turkish war ended in 1711 with the treaty of Falksen, unfavourable to Russia, who lost her only port on the Black Sea and undertook not to intervene in Polish affairs. That treaty made the Sultan the guarantor of the integrity of Poland.

The Turks saw in their success over Russia the return of their old victorious fortune in arms, and entered into an offensive campaign against Venice in the Morea. Austria, who joined the fray as the ally of Venice, emerged from the war with the lion's share of the spoils, determined by the treaty of Pozharevatz in 1718.

As Francis I of France had appealed to Turkey for support against Austria in the sixteenth century, so in the eighteenth the Sultan turned to the French King, Louis XV, for aid and friendship.

France asked the Sultan to intervene actively in Poland during the war of the Polish succession in favour of Stanislas Lesczinski, father-in-law of the French King, against the claims of Augustus the Strong of Saxony, supported by Austria and Russia.

The Sultan, advised by a French adventurer, the Comte de Bonneval, who was then a Turkish Pasha, withheld his compliance with that request until he should receive a written treaty of alliance with France, and this delayed the Turkish action indefinitely.

The Sultan only decided to move when, in 1726, there was concluded against Turkey the Austro-Russian alliance which contained an understanding between the two Powers on the Polish Question.

The growth of Russian influence among the Orthodox Christians of the Balkans, the support extended by Russia to the Serbs of Montenegro, and, finally, the Russian invasion of the territory of the Tartar Khans of the Crimea in 1736, brought from the Sultan a declaration of war against Russia.

When Austria's offers of mediation were declined by the Sultan the Austrian troops entered the campaign in support of Russia, but were driven from the field by the Ottoman army. Through French media-

tion a treaty of peace between Turkey and Austria was signed at Belgrade in 1739, by which Austria was forced to abandon to Turkey most of the territory which she had obtained by the earlier treaty of Pozharevatz (1718). Russia also shortly afterward ended her war with Turkey, having added to her dominions several small blocks of territory. As a thank-offering for her services in the Austro-Turkish crisis France received from the Sultan great commercial privileges and the protectorate of the Holy Places in Palestine, with the protection of Roman Catholic Christians in Turkey. That grant forms what is known as the Capitulations of 1740.[1] At the same time, under the auspices of France, Turkey concluded a defensive alliance with Sweden.

Russia at the end of the seventeenth century was firmly established on the shores of the Pacific. Bound on the north by frozen seas, and under pressure of the titanic natural resources of her vast territories and the myriad millions of her population, the ponderous mass of Russia moves ever southward seeking an outlet to the broad oceans which carry the world's commerce.

In Europe Russia strove, throughout the eighteenth century, to reach the shores of the Black Sea, gazing still further across its waters to the open gates of the Bosporus and the Dardanelles.

In Asia she expanded her Siberian dominions southward across the Steppes of the Khirkises, across the Caucasus, enveloping the northern, eastern, and western shores of the Caspian Sea, tending ultimately toward the waters of the Indian Ocean.

In the Indian Ocean and the Chinese sea the Portuguese retained the few ports of which they had early taken possession as the advance-guard of the European conquerors. The Spaniards owned the Philippines; the Dutch possessed the Sunda Isles. These nations and the French and the English were all trade rivals in those seas.

In India the conquests and extension of their rule accomplished by the "Great Moguls," in the name of Islam, brought about, in the eighteenth century, a vigorous reaction among the Hindus, who were striving to shake off the Mogul domination. Those conditions favoured the rapid extension of French and English influence not only by trade

[1] These "capitulations" remain in force at the present time, similar rights having since then been acquired by other nations.

development, but by intervention in the incessant strifes and quarrels among the Indian States and their ruling Princes.

In the first half of the eighteenth century it was France who not only in East India, but also on the American continent, seemed destined to be master in the contest with England. The advice of Leibnitz to Louis XIV to conquer Egypt in the interest of a Great French East India was considered several times by French Statesmen during the early eighteenth century.

In Europe, with the death of the Emperor Charles VI and the ascension of his daughter Maria Theresa to the thrones of the Hapsburg hereditary Kingdoms and Lands, the idea of the partition of those lands found expression in the wars of the Austrian succession, in which England, France, Russia, Bavaria, and Prussia took part.

Those wars were soon followed by others, whose fundamental aim was the partition of Prussia between France, Austria, and Russia, a coalition over which triumphed the genius of Frederick the Great.

During those central European battles the Sublime Porte hesitated to intervene, but when the death of Augustus III made vacant the Polish throne and Stanislas Poniatovski, the favourite and nominee of Catharine II of Russia was elected King of Poland, and the Russian troops, on the pretext of re-establishing order, entered Polish territory, the Sultan declared war on Russia in 1768.

In that war in which Russia was opposed by France and supported by England, the great Russian victories of 1770 and 1771, which aroused enthusiasm among the Serbs and the Greeks in the Morea, alarmed the Vienna Court.

Maria Theresa and her son Joseph II came to an understanding with Prussia for mutual help against Russia. Austria then in 1771 allied herself with Turkey and an Austro-Russian war was imminent. Both Austria and Russia being eager for aggrandizement, Frederick the Great proposed to satisfy that land-hunger at the expense of Poland, aiming at the same time at removing the danger of an Austro-Russian war. Prussia herself received out of the dismembered Poland the fee of the "honest broker." That "first partition of Poland" occurred on January 15, 1772.

The Russo-Turkish war, having lasted nearly six years, was ended

in 1774 by the treaty of Koutchouk-Kainardji, and Austria received from the Sultan, as a mark of Turkish gratitude, the territory which is to-day the Austrian province of Boukovina. That treaty advanced the Russian borders to the shores of the Black Sea. Russia was made the Protector of all the Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire—a stipulation freighted with import for the future. She obtained, too, rights of protection over the principalities of Moldavia and Vallachia.

The wars of Europe in which France and England took rival sides found their echo in East India and on the American continent. Everywhere the French lost their colonial Empire to the British. In India from that time forth the French were restricted to the few scattered posts which they still hold.

In the Americas again the French fought the British without gain to themselves. To the general surprise of Europe the colonies, who were the object of the Franco-English contest, emerged triumphantly from the mazes of the war as a sovereign State, the Free and Independent United States of America.

At the moment of the first partition of Poland there began to take shape in the minds of the Hapsburg Emperor, Joseph II, and the Empress Catharine II of Russia a plan for the partition of the Ottoman Empire.

According to the original conception of the plan in 1772, a line was drawn through the map of the Balkan Peninsula, north to south, giving the western half, with Servia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Albania, Macedonia, with Salonika and Greece, to Austria, and the eastern half, Moldavia, Vallachia, Bulgaria, Rumelia, Thracia, with Constantinople to Russia.

The correspondence between the two Sovereigns on this subject, referred to as the "Greek project," developed modifications which reached a definitive formulation in 1781 according to which: One independent Christian State was to be formed by Vallachia and Moldavia, under a prince to be elected by the two contractants; and another by the reconstruction of the Byzantine Empire, with its Capital at Constantinople, with a Russian Grand-Duke as its Emperor, and this last was to include all of the Balkan Peninsula except Bosnia

and Herzegovina and Montenegro to a point south of Lake Scutari and eastward up to the Morava River, all of which was to go to Austria; the Morea should be given to Venice, and Russia was to receive an extension of territory along the river Dniester and the shores of the Black Sea, and some Greek islands. The two contractants offered Egypt and Syria to France, but the woful interior conditions of France—then on the eve of her terrific Revolution—withheld her from accepting the gift.

The annexation of the Crimea and war preparations by Russia caused the Sultan to again (1787) declare war against Catharine II, who had the co-operation of Austria.

The French Revolution, symptoms of which cropped out all over Europe, and an Anglo-Prussian combination to prevent Austrian and Russian expansion, furnished favourable conditions for Leopold II, successor of the Emperor Joseph II, to withdraw from the Russian alliance and to sign with the Turks the treaty of Sistova (1791). The Hapsburg Emperor, acting in concert with Prussia and England, induced the Empress Catharine II to make peace with Turkey. It was again Poland who paid the piper—first in a readjustment between Russia and Prussia in 1793, and again in 1795 when the Polish Republic ceased to exist and the last vestige of Polish land was annexed by her three neighbours, Austria, Russia, and Prussia.

The idea of a partition of the territories of the Balkan Peninsula has continued to obsess Europe, a lure to the greed of nations.

With the closing hours of the eighteenth century there appeared out of the murky shadow of the French catastrophe the figure of Napoleon, whose advent and exploits overturned for the time or modified the designs of conquest and partition which the Great Powers of Europe had laid down for themselves, and the hand of destiny, say, God's will, moved in other ways unforseen reversing the conclusions of human calculations.

Turkey in Europe from 1526 to 1689.

IN the seventeenth century the period of exhaustion and comparative quiescence in Balkan lands, which followed the long-sustained and vain efforts of the Serbs for liberation, was broken, in the second half of the century, by the Turko-Austrian struggles culminating in the siege of Vienna by the Ottomans in 1683.

The King of Poland, Ian Sobieski, and his army of Poles came as allies of Austria to the city's relief, and in the great battle of the Kahlenberg saved Vienna, thoroughly defeating the Turkish forces and putting them to flight. After the forced cessation of hostilities during the winter, the Austrian troops were able to obtain further success, and the Republic of Venice joined the "Holy Alliance" against the Turks.

Venice, however, had been drained economically by her wars in Crete and elsewhere, and was unable to put a Venetian force in the field. For that reason the Serene Signory entered into negotiations with the free Servian Clans of the Brdas, Montenegro, Herzegovina, and all those Servian groups who had been able to maintain some measure of independence, urging them to join by a rising in a co-operative movement against the Turks. Venice, at the same time, sent equipment and support to the Servian Heydouk bands for guerilla warfare.

The Serbs fought successfully in all those regions, but as the troops which they had expected from Venice failed to appear, they were obliged to confine their efforts to local conflicts. Among the famous Heydouks who perished in those fights was Baya Pivlyanin—the hero of many of the songs of that time.

News of these fierce combats, the accounts of the Austrian successes in the north, and the endeavours of Venice aroused afresh the Servian spirit, and thoughts of a new insurrection sprang up throughout the country.

The Servian Patriarch Arsen III began to hope that the time might be approaching when, in emulation of Patriarch Iovan, who had headed the "insurrection of Saint Sava," he could organise another general revolt among the Serbs. Inspired by these visions, he lent a ready ear to Venetian blandishments.

The Sultan met the general restlessness by immediate orders for the disarmament of the Serbs and the suppression of all Church meetings and other Servian gatherings.

Meanwhile, conditions were growing more and more unstable within the Turkish Empire, which was threatened with financial and economical ruin, and when, in 1686, the Austrians succeeded in driving the Turks out of Buda (Pesth), in Hungary, grave disorders broke out all through the Turkish Realm.

In August, 1687, the Austrians again defeated the Ottomans at Mohatch. The result was a general panic and mutiny in the army of the Sultan, who was violently dethroned. The same year the Serbs and Venetians took Novi, near Cattaro. These events were accompanied by uprisings in all the Servian lands. In Slavonia the insurrection was of great help to the Austrian arms, which also profited by Serb risings in Bosnia.

Then occurred an unexpected development of

The Exodus in 1689–1690 of thirty thousand Servian families from southern Servia, led by the Servian Patriarch, Arsen Tzernoyevitch, into Southern Hungary at the invitation of the Hapsburg Emperor, Leopold I

From a painting by Paya Iovanovich, property of the Servian State

events. As the Austrians progressed in their successful operations, driving the Turks out of Hungary and Slavonia, they were at first hailed by the Slavonic population as deliverers. But although the Serb rising had rendered such valuable service to the Hapsburg campaigns, the Austrians, on entering Slavonia, treated it as an enemy's land, and the inhabitants found themselves crushed under an increase of misery. Many of them fled across the Danube to the countries under the Sultan, preferring the Turkish master to the Austrian.

The result was that only in the far southern and remote regions, where the people were ignorant of what was passing in the north, did the Serbs continue to support the Austrian military operations with insurrections.

Conditions of upheaval in the Turkish Empire and the disorders and lawlessness at Constantinople were disorganizing elements in the Turkish ranks, making it easy for the Austrians to cross the Danube and the Sava and to penetrate into Servia and Bosnia.

As the Austrian arms progressed, the ground occupied was annexed and German administration set up, the main immediate result of which was a stern suppression of the Orthodox Faith and attempts to forcibly convert the Orthodox Christians to Roman Catholicism. Those acts roused the Serbs to courageous resistance, and in casting about for succour they remembered that Russia two years before that time, in 1686, had joined the Holy Alliance and had begun hostilities against the Turks. The perceptible impulse of the Servians to look toward the great

north was like a note of warning to Austria, who at once sought means of preventing an approach between those two national groups—both Slavonic and both Orthodox Christians.

The first plan was to open up sympathetic relations with Patriarch Arsen III, but the Serb Patriarch who had been working in understanding with Venice, had but recently applied to Russia for support on behalf of the Servian race and of the Orthodox Christian Faith, not only against the Turks, but also against the Austrians. It was evidently necessary for the Vienna Court to look elsewhere for a representative Serb who would have influence with his countrymen as a leader.

At that time there came to Vienna, with the Transylvanian Embassy, a Servian Prince, George Brankovich, who claimed direct descent from the former rulers of that name.

The Emperor saw in him one who appeared to be adapted to Hapsburg purposes, and recognised him as a rightful Pretender to the Servian throne, conferring upon him many honours and privileges.

He was sent as an envoy from Vienna to Vallachia, and at the time when the Austrian armies entered and occupied the northern Servian and Bosnian districts word was conveyed to George Brankovich that the hour was favourable for him to return to Servia and raise the people in revolt.

The Turks in 1688 were unsuccessful on all sides. In Montenegro, in the Brdas, and in Herzegovina the Serbs were up in arms, and the retreating Turkish

troops were harassed in Servia and thrust farther southward and eastward.

The wrecked finances of the Ottoman State, its disorganised administration and rebellion in the army, made the Turks willing to sue for peace, but remembering that they had so lately kept Europe in fear, and ruled Hungary and the Balkan lands as absolute masters, they refused to submit to the Austrian demands which were arrogant, and humiliating to Ottoman pride.

The Turkish Statesmen believed that their lack of success was due only to temporary bad fortune.

The Ottomans, however, were for the time unable to undertake any important action although Austria became involved in other European complications and was obliged to pause in her advance. Louis XIV was at war with Austria, and the Hapsburg Emperor, Leopold I, was obliged to withdraw the main forces of his army and send them to meet the French on the Rhine. The operations against the Turks were left almost entirely to the Servian insurgents.

After the peace negotiations between Turkey and Austria had been broken off, the Turks began in the winter of 1688–9 to strongly organise their military forces. In the spring the Servians in large fighting bodies accompanied by small Austrian contingents entered Novi-Bazar and Bosnia.

Brankovich, who was among the insurgents on the lower Danube, in view of the fact that the Austrians, short of numbers and resources, had been of

small value in the campaign, that whatever had been done had been accomplished by the Servians single-handed, and that they had already cleared the Turks out of whole districts, was inspired with the belief that the Serbs would be able, even without the help of Austria or any other power, to free the country. In June, 1689, he issued a proclamation calling upon all Serbs to rise and throw off the Turkish domination and re-establish the Servian State.

The Turks were then invading Hungary across Transylvania. The forces under the Margrave of Baden, the Austrian Commander-in-Chief, were too small to cope with the double Ottoman attack from east and south and he appealed to the Serbs for support. When the Turks had gained Kladovo, the Austrian situation, which had become fraught with danger because of the withdrawal of the Vallachians from their Austrian affiliation and their leaning toward the Turkish side, was understood to be extremely critical. Then the news of Brankovich's initiative move in calling the Serbs to arms reached the Margrave. That straightforward and independent action was not at all in accordance with the rôle which the Hapsburg Court had intended the Servian Prince to play. Austrian mistrust of his subserviency had been already aroused by the knowledge of his friendly relations with Russia, and that country, since the capture of some Russo-Vallachian correspondence which revealed the strong moral bond between Russia and all other Christian Orthodox nations, was beginning to be looked upon by Aus-

tria as a potential opponent to her plans of Eastern conquest.

The Margrave of Baden, helped by Brankovich's insurrection, was able to obtain two small victories over the Turks on the Morava. The Serbs, fighting alone, took from the Ottomans the fortresses of Maglich and Koznik in southern Servia. The Margrave of Baden won a further victory near Nish, from which place he sent General Piccolomini with some troops southward under orders to cross through Prokouplyia to Kossovo and thence to Albania and the Adriatic Sea. That move was designed to cut off the Turkish communications with Bosnia where the Austrians had not been able to make headway.

The Commander-in-Chief himself marched toward Vidin to make a junction with the Austrian troops then operating in Transylvania.

In the south General Piccolomini, as he approached the Patriarchal Capital, Ipek, entered into communication with the Serb Patriarch Arsen III.

Turks, Austrians, and Venetians, realising the importance of the Patriarch's influence with the Serbs, had at different times made attempts to capture Arsen III.

General Piccolomini, after his advance on Kossovo and his successes at Katchanik and Scoplyia (Uskub), which he burnt, entered Ipek and went forward to Prisren. By dint of perfect tact and a considerate attitude in his dealings with the Servian population, he was able to obtain their co-operation, without which his military advance would not have been possible.

By the same means he won influence with the Servian Patriarch, which the Austrians put to profit in their dealings with both Turks and Venetians. Through the Partriarch also the Vienna Court attempted—but without success—to draw the Serb Clans of Montenegro, the Brdas, and Herzegovina into the Austrian plans.

Nevertheless, through the sagacity of General Piccolomini and the effect of George Brankovich's proclamation, the Austrians in southern and south-western Servia were able to increase their fighting forces by three-fourths through voluntary Servian auxiliaries.

Brankovich, meanwhile, had been proclaimed and consecrated Servian Despot, and the Serbs were once more rallying around him as a symbol of united strength. The successes obtained by the Austrians, and their growing conviction that the Servian Patriarch was for many reasons a safer and more advantageous channel of influence than Brankovich might prove, caused it to appear wise to the Vienna Court to eliminate the new Servian Despot from the situation.

The Margrave of Baden, acting under the orders of his Imperial Master, invited Brankovich in October, 1689, to confer with him upon matters relating to the campaign. When the Servian Despot arrived at the camp of the Austrian Commander-in-Chief on October 26 he was seized and sent, under arrest, first to Vienna and then to Eger, in Bohemia, where, as a captive, he wearily dragged out the remaining twenty-two years of his life.[1]

[1] Brankovich appealed in vain to the Austrian Emperor to know the cause of his arrest, and petitioned for a trial, which was refused him.

The sole answer given to his entreaties and those of the Servian people,

The effect of the betrayal of Brankovich, and the death of General Piccolomini, joined to a sudden manifestation of extraordinary arrogance on the part of the Austrian commanders toward the Servian troops, was immediately apparent in the speedy melting away of the Servian Auxiliaries from the Austrian ranks.

The new Turkish Grand Vizir, Moustapha Kuprili, had meantime called together and thoroughly organised a strong Ottoman army to fight the Austrians. In December, 1689, a formidable Turkish force began to advance, and in the beginning of January, 1690, at Katchanik, they won a victory over the Austrian army, forcing it back toward Nish. Patriarch Arsen and those Serb leaders who had been compromised by the help they had given to the Austrians, found it necessary to flee before the Turks. Every place the Ottoman army entered was made the victim of savage reprisals. In vain Vienna gave orders for the defence of Nish and Prokouplyia, which were wrested from the Austrians. Further, the unsuccessful campaigns on the Rhine required the presence of all available Austrian troops, the operations in Servia remained unsupported and the Austrians were finally obliged to retire from that country back across the Danube and also to retire from Vallachia.

In the face of the increasing danger to the Austrian position, the Court at Vienna resolved to offer new

and to the representations of Russia on his behalf, was "that reasons of State required his imprisonment though he had done no wrong." . . . "*Nihil mali fecit, sed sic ratio status exposcit.*"

assurances to the Serbs. In April, 1690, the Emperor, Leopold I, issued a proclamation to the Servians and Albanians, calling upon them to rise in insurrection.

That proclamation is of especial interest as the basis of privileges and rights offered to all Serbs who should settle in Austria. The call, however, met with no response in those regions which had but lately suffered under the invading Austrian army. Patriarch Arsen and those who had supported the Austrian operations in Servia sent a mission to Vienna, in view of the collapse of the Austrian campaign, to inquire in what way the promises previously made by the Austrian commanders, and now reiterated by the Emperor, would be redeemed. At that moment the Austrians everywhere, in retreat from Servia and Vallachia back to Hungary and Transylvania, stood sorely in need of the armed assistance of the Serbs in order to avoid complete disaster, and the Austrian Emperor gave as answer to the Servian deputation a rescript complementary to his letter to the Patriarch and to his proclamation to the Serbs of April 6, 1690, inviting them to immigrate to Austrian territory.

That rescript promised to all Serbs who should settle in Austrian territory complete liberty of conscience and full rights of national self-government.

On the return of the Servian deputation bringing the Emperor's answer to the Patriarch, and the new rescript to the Servian people, Arsen III, accompanied by many Serb leaders and some hundreds of thou-

sands of Servians taking with them all their movable property, crossed the Danube and entered Hungary.

The significance of this exodus is clearly stated in the report of the Austrian Minister of State Baron Johann Christopher Bartenstein to the Emperor Joseph, entitled, "Report on the Illyrian Nation," the result of the work of a commission of inquiry 1754–61, in which he says, referring to the Serb migration under Arsen III: "It was not a case of offering refuge to fugitives—allowing them to go on to waste lands—but one of inducing persons to leave established and well-provided homes where they had been undisturbed in the exercise of their religious faith, and to pass at the peril of their lives and estate from Turkish domination to ours."

In addition to political and religious liberty and the promised bestowal of land, the inducements offered to the Serbs included the right to freely return to their own country.

These documents, as well as others of a similar nature which followed, bore the character of a contract by which in return for the sacrifice of leaving their home lands and contributing military service to Austria the Serbs migrating to Hungary were to enjoy special privileges. They were to form a distinct nation directly under the sole authority of the Emperor; they were to be free in the exercise of their religion; their whole clergy, including the Patriarch, was to be elected by themselves; they were guaranteed the right to elect from among their own

people a Voyvod to be their civil head, and they were to govern themselves according to their own institutions.

Unfortunately, these promises remained a dead letter—except at the times when Austria stood in need of Servian military help. Then the old promises were remembered at Vienna and renewed, only to be ignored again when the time of necessity had passed.

No more passionate expressions of disillusion and condemnation could be formulated in speech than the terms in which Patriarch Arsen III's child-like belief in the Austrian offers, and his consequent leading so many of his countrymen into virtual captivity, have continually been characterised by Servian statesmen, churchmen, writers, and all other Serbs having a public hearing.

The Turkish Grand Vizir Kuprili, in the name of the Sultan, offered to Patriarch Arsen and all the Serbs who had followed him full and free amnesty in the event of their return to Turkey, and the restoration of all the privileges previously conferred upon the Servian Patriarchat under Mehemet Sokolovich. In the absence of any response to that appeal, the Patriarchal See at Ipek was declared vacant by the Grand Vizir, and a new Serb Patriarch, Kalinik, was elected. Kalinik concluded with the Turkish Government a compromise giving protection to the Servian nation in return for their laying down their arms and their return to peaceful pursuits.[1]

[1] In the Turko-Austro campaign of 1695–6 the Serb-inhabited part of south Hungary was pillaged and burned by both the Austrian troops and

In 1692 the scene of the Austro-Turkish conflict was north of the rivers Danube and Sava. In 1693 the Austrians obtained some success in a battle at Slankamen, but the subsequent attempt to follow up that advantage by taking Belgrade failed.

It was not until August, 1697, that the Austrian troops were able, at Zenta, in Hungary, to gain a decisive victory over the Sultan's army.

Prince Eugene of Savoy, the Austrian commander, wrote in his report of the battle of Zenta that the "élite" of the Austrian army were the Servian national contingents, led by their Voyvod Iovan Monasterli, and that those troops were the best and bravest under his command.

The victory of Zenta forced the Turks into negotiations for peace. At the same moment the Emperor Leopold was on the point of concluding another treaty of Peace at Rhyswick, in Holland, with France, into which Holland, England, and the German States entered, to terminate the Austrian wars in Western Europe for the time. The terms of that treaty were not such as to give promise of long cessation from hostilities, and the Vienna Court was glad to settle the Turkish matter, after a year of negotiations, by the Austro-Ottoman treaty of Karlovitz signed in August, 1699.

the Hungarian auxiliaries of the Sultan under the Transylvanian Prince Tököli. The Sultan, upon beholding the wreck and ruin of the new Serb villages, exclaimed, "Is this the way these Christians treat one another!" and in great indignation—desiring, also no doubt, to inflict a lesson and to point a moral—he seized his vassal the Prince of Transylvania, accused him of his part in those depredations, and condemned him to death—a sentence which on second thoughts—considering, doubtless, the possible usefulness of Tököli—he commuted into imprisonment.

That treaty gave Hungary to the Hapsburgs, the Turks retaining in that country only the Banat of Temeshvar and the southern part of Syrmia. That arrangement also placed most of the Serbs who had crossed the Danube with Arsen directly under Austria.

The conclusion of the treaty of Karlovitz was followed for the Serbs in Austria by a period of unceasing struggle to preserve their civil and religious liberties.

The Austrians since 1526 had been fighting to gain Hungary, and with the treaty of Karlovitz the Hapsburgs finally entered into possession of that desired territory. They had, after the battle of Mohatch, claimed to be the rightful heirs of the Hungarian Crown, and their present aim was to confirm that inheritance and limit it to their own house. The settlement by the Austrian Emperors of Serbs in southern Hungary, which was looked upon as an Austrian possession since it had been won from the Ottomans, was intended to create a barrier between the Turks and Hungarians to help the execution of the plans for the Hapsburg domination of Hungary.

The Hof-Kriegs-Rath[1] representing that the Servians as pre-eminently fine fighting material would be of incalculable service in defending the House of Hapsburg from enemies within and without, as well as in European political wars, advised the Emperor to keep the Serbs under direct Imperial authority

[1] Governing Court War Council; a military Council of a composite nature possessing the function of a war-office and of a Chief of the General Staff of the army, directing all the military operations of an army in the field; it had influence in both internal and foreign affairs, with the direct control of certain provinces.

and to redeem the various promises to them contained in the rescripts.

The Hungarians understanding also the value to the Hapsburgs and the danger to themselves of the creation of a separate Servian province under the direct authority of the Emperor, denied the right of the Hapsburg ruler to bestow privileges upon inhabitants of Hungarian territory, and declared null and void all the advantages granted by the Vienna Court to the Servians who had settled in southern Hungary. This question became one of the issues in the strife of the Hungarians over the prerogatives which the Hapsburgs arrogated to themselves as rulers of Hungary. These questions were further complicated by the matter of the Orthodox Christian Faith of the Servians. The Serbs found themselves caught between two fires; on one side the Hungarians undertook to force every Orthodox Christian to become a Roman Catholic and to use the Latin ritual, and that under conditions which aimed at actually crushing the Serbs in Hungary into serfdom under the great Magyar Feudal lords; on the other side was the Hapsburg plan, under Jesuit direction, finer, larger, and far more subtle in peril. According to that policy the Orthodox Christians were not necessarily to be Latinised, at least not immediately, but they were as a Church to submit to the supreme authority of Rome, while retaining in the main their own ceremonial and language. Those accepting that compromise were called "Uniates." [1]

[1] The ideas then prevalent on the subject can be judged by one of the many publications promulgated at that time by the Vienna Court party,

The Serbs could hope far more from Vienna than from Hungary. It appeared logically that the need for Servian help on the part of the Hapsburg Court would insure from it more considerate treatment than the Serbs had received from Hungary.

During the Magyar insurrections under Francis Rakotzy against the Hapsburgs, both sides competed for Servian aid. The Hapsburgs, who were then also at war with France (the war of the Spanish succession), heaped favours upon the Serbs, confirming to them the old and also some new privileges in a rescript of August and September, 1706, and obtained in return the military co-operation they needed.

It happened, however, that the terms of those concessions proved ill-defined, subject to various interpretations and requiring continual vigilance and pressure to force them from the letter into actual existence.

The incident of the Bishopric of Pakratz illustrates that struggle. When that See became vacant in 1704 two nominees for the post simultanuously appeared on the scene; one was the Uniate Bishop Lyoubibratich, while the other was the Serb Orthodox Bishop Sophronius Podgoritchanin. The energy and sagacity of the old Patriarch Arsen enabled him to intervene before the day of the installation of Lyoubibratich by the Archbishop of Zagreb, and to buy off with a money price the Uniate Bishop, whom he

entitled, "De ortu et progressu et diminutione schismatis græci atque græci ritus Ecclesiæ cum Romana Ecclesia tot votis exoptata."

despatched to Moscow. He then confirmed the Serb Orthodox nominee as Bishop of Pakratz.

The Servian situation fluctuated according to the peace thermometer of Vienna and Buda-Pesth. When Austria was at war the Servian lot was suddenly made easier, and when that war was with Hungary they were the object of special solicitude; when the campaigns were over the Serbs were oppressed again; when peace was made between Magyars and Austrians the terms on both sides were disadvantageous to the Servians of southern Hungary. The contradictions of their position are illustrated by the act of the Hapsburg Emperor Charles VI, who in 1713–15, by two successive diplomas confirmed all the previous rescripts and rights to the Serbs and at the same time sanctioned and signed the two Hungarian Laws making it illegal for any person not a Roman Catholic to hold land!

The efforts made by the Vienna Court to segregate the Serbs of Croatia and Slavonia and southern Hungary into two divisions, those of the Arsen immigration and those descended from former populations, were a cause of much trouble during the entire eighteenth century.

In south-western Serb lands the participation of the Montenegrin and the other Serb Mountain Clans in support of Venetian action in the Austro-Venetian war (1683–99) began a period of uninterrupted wars with Turkey during which there evolved slowly the formation of a new Servian State.

From the beginning of that period the Turks realised the significance of the tendency toward the re-erection of a Servian State and the danger to Ottoman rule of the combination of the small independent groups into one large formation. The Sultans during the ensuing hundred and fifty years put forth all their efforts toward subduing the free Serb clans of those high mountains. In spite of some victories gained by Turkish armies of overwhelming numbers against small batches of mountaineers, the Sultan's forces were repeatedly defeated and always withstood, and they were never able to impose Ottoman authority upon these Serb clans of the high Brdas and Montenegro.

There was, however, for the Montenegrin clans a grave interior situation impossible seemingly to cope with. In the course of time a certain number of Turks had quietly penetrated into several small places in the upper Zeta, and they had managed by degrees to convert many of the Serb inhabitants to Mohammedanism. In those districts that process of conversion, and its results, which were complicated by family feuds, grew to be an alarming dissolvent of national purpose, destroying the people's faith and undermining their moral forces like a slow, incurable malady draining their life-springs. It became apparent to the Serb leaders that it was imperative to use desperate means to eradicate the danger. The leaders of all the free clans gathered in conference upon the mountain peak of Lovtchen, and there it was resolved in council to extirpate at a single blow all infidels, renegades as well as Turks. It was re-

solved to make two separate earnest appeals to the renegades to return to the Christian faith and be baptised. Then at a fixed date, in case of refusal, they were either to be slain or to be forced by fire and sword into allegiance. On Christmas Eve, 1702, these decrees were executed repeating among the Servian rocks the terrors of the Sicilian Vespers. All who refused baptism were slain or forced to fly. Among the principal leaders in the enforcement of these measures were Vouk Mitchenovich, Vouk Mandoutchich, and the five brothers Martinich. In a single night thousands were baptised in token of repentance, and thousands fell by the sword. By the end of Christmas week the whole upper Zeta was free from Turks and renegades. From that moment dates the beginning of the growth of modern Montenegro as a State.

From that time also dates the reliance of the Federation of the Montenegrin clans upon Russia and the Montenegrin co-operation with Russian plans in all Russo-Turkish wars.

In all other Serb lands the great crisis at the end of the seventeenth century was followed by a period of quiescence in consequence of the compromise made by the Patriarch Kalinik with the Sultan. That compromise provided for conditions under which in certain districts the Serbs were able to improve their economic situation and regain much of the advantages previously secured to them under the Servian Patriarchat, and which they had lost during the time of their disastrous affiliation with Austria.

In 1715 the Turks attacked the Venetian Province of Morea, in Greece, and in 1716 the Emperor Charles VI, successor of Joseph I, as an ally of Venice, declared war on Turkey. In order to secure the military support of the Serbs he issued a proclamation once again confirming them in all their old privileges and rights[1] and at the same time calling them to arms. Belgrade, the chief point of Turkish resistance, was taken, and with it the entire territory of the Pashalik of Belgrade fell into the hands of the Austrian troops.

Successive Turkish defeats decided the Sultan to sue for peace, which was concluded at Pozharevatz in 1718. By that treaty the Emperor got from Turkey the Banat, Lower Syrmia, Servia up to Tchoupria, and the Bosnian Posavina. Venice obtained from Turkey by the same peace a rectification of her borders in Dalmatia.

In the newly occupied Servian territory, which was half of the modern Kingdom, the Hapsburg Government treated its new Serb subjects with haughty scorn. They were deprived of all civil, personal, and property rights and persecuted for their religious faith. The Christian oppression was more terrible than the Moslem. The Austrian civil administration was not only autocratic but insulting and licentious. The conduct of the Austrian Garrisons differed in no way from that of the Janissaries. The Austrian Generals were Turkish Pashas in behaviour.

[1] "The Divil was ill,
The Divil a Saint would be;
The Divil got well—
The Divil a Saint was he!"

The levies, services, and other requisitions were heavier than any to which the Servian population had been subjected by the Turks. The religious persecution took some forms more barbarous than those known in the worst Turkish times. The Servians were strictly prohibited from leaving their home localities. Within two years large numbers of them escaped to seek refuge in lands under the Sultan. That expatriation continued during the whole time of the Austrian occupation of that part of Servia (1718–39).[1]

Following the Peace of Pozharevatz, the Serbs in the Austrian Monarchy, those in southern Hungary as well as those in northern Servia, began to plan means of organising and unifying the Serb forces. Their first aim was to unite in one the two divided sections of the office of Metropolitan then exercised by a Metropolitan of Belgrade and one at Karlovitz. They finally succeeded in this design in 1731, when Vicentius Iovanovich was selected by the Servian Church communities, with the Emperor's consent, Metropolitan of Karlovitz and Belgrade.

One fine accomplishment of the Serbs of that pe-

[1] The history of the Austrian occupation of Bosnia-Herzegovina is a true counterpart to that period of the Austrian occupation of northern Servia. Among the few accounts of the state of things in Bosnia to-day which ever find their way to the outer world, one, characteristic of prevailing conditions, was published in Europe and America in 1908. An Austrian officer garrisoned in a Bosnian town took a squad of his soldiers to the house of a Bosnian citizen, arrested the father and threw him into prison, and seized the daughter, carrying her away to his quarters. As knowledge of this outrage chanced to leak out to the foreign press, the girl was sent home, the father released, and the officer, instead of receiving punishment, was transferred to another post.

riod through their Church was the educational system founded by Arsen III which received fresh impulse through the efforts of the Metropolitan Iovanovich.

After the occupation of northern Servia by Austria the conditions of the Serbs in southern Hungary, like those of their countrymen across the Danube, became unbearable. The Magyar Oligarchy which made up the Diet began a relentless attack upon all the fundamental Serb rights.

In 1721 the Servians of the District of Petch (Fünfkirchen), in Hungary, in the course of certain litigation were deprived of their rights as citizens and of the free exercise of religious faith. Two years later the Hungarian Diet extended these disabilities to all other Serbs living in Hungary. These measures of persecution passed by the Hungarian Diet were confirmed by the Austrian Emperor Charles VI, who had but just previously confirmed by edict the rights of the Serbs.[1]

The situation became so aggravated that the Servian Church congress sent a deputation to Vienna to claim fulfilment of the terms of the edicts and rescripts so often proclaimed and "confirmed." The envoys received but scant attention, and in November, 1734, the Vienna Court sent the deputation back with a rescript referring to some minor rights but ignoring the main issues. In answer to that

[1] That law of 1723 reduced the Serbs to the position of serfs; attached them thenceforth to the soil; forbade them to leave the country or to go from one place to another within Hungary. They became virtual chattels of the feudal Lords. See Article LXVI of the law "De migratione Taxalistarum et aliorum quorumcunque Ignobilium limitanda"; also articles LXIX and LXXXV.

mocking rescript the Serbs, in 1735, goaded past endurance, rose in revolt in the Banat, in Batchka, and in Posavina.

In the Banat the Magyar peasants rebelled against their miserable lot as serfs and joined the Serb insurrection. The leader of the Servian revolt was a Serb who had been an officer in the Austrian army, Petar Segedinatz. These insurrections lacked the necessary equipment and were soon crushed, their leaders nailed to wheels, beaten to death, or subjected to barbaric cruelties hardly known in Europe even in that age.

Throughout the Hapsburg Monarchy were manifestations of discontent and disorder, and the Emperor again sent a proclamation assuring to the Serbs respect of their rights. The edict, however, aroused no hope and met with no response. The state of dissatisfaction and disturbance persisted, and finally, in 1736, the Serbs of southern Hungary and northern Servia sent an appeal for intervention to the Tsarina Anna of Russia.

In 1736 the Emperor Charles VI concluded with the Tsarina of Russia an offensive and defensive alliance against the Sultan, who answered the challenge by taking the field with an army. The Austrian troops early in the campaign obtained several successes in Bosnia and in Servia in the direction of Nish.

The Serb Clans of Montenegro and southern Herzegovina were also fighting the Turks successfully, having agreed to support the action of Russia.

The Imperial Hapsburg troops at the beginning

of the war were able to take Bela Palanka, Nish, Soka, Ouzhitze, Novi-Bazar, and other fortified places. The fortunes of war, however, changed and all the conquered places were retaken by the Turks, and the Austrian troops sustained a decisive defeat in June, 1739, at Grotzka, on the Danube. So the Emperor Charles VI offered peace to the Sultan, and this was concluded at Belgrade in September, 1739. The terms were that Turkey regained possession of the Belgrade Pashalik, with Belgrade and Shabatz and all the war material in those fortresses. The borders on the north, the Sava and the Danube, were those which have remained up to the present time or, more properly speaking, up to the Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878.

In the beginning of that campaign the Servian Metropolitan of Belgrade and Karlovitz, Vicentius Iovanovich, died, and when the question arose of electing a new Metropolitan, the Vienna Court hit upon the ingenious idea of inviting the Servian Patriarch of Ipek, Arsen IV, to come to Belgrade to take supreme control of the Serb Orthodox Church in the Hapsburg Monarchy, in order to induce the southern Servians in return to rise once more in insurrection in support of the new Austrian campaign. The Patriarch himself answered the call, but the Servian people were unresponsive, and when the Austrian troops were forced to fall back before the Turks, Patriarch Arsen IV, and the few Serbs who had come forward in aid of the Hapsburg war, were obliged for their own safety

to accompany the retreating army. At the river Koloubara that small company fell into a Turkish ambush and were all slain except the Patriarch himself and a few men near his person who managed to escape across the Sava River into Austria.

The Emperor Charles VI died the year after in 1740, and his daughter, Maria Theresa, came into possession of the Hereditary Lands of the House of Hapsburg. Her rights of inheritance to certain of the States were contested, and so began the wars of the Austrian succession, followed by the Silesian wars with Frederick the Great of Prussia.

Maria Theresa leaned for support upon the Magyars and the Hungarian Diet. She obtained a promise of the assistance she sought, but among the conditions she agreed to were the stipulations that all grants of rights and privileges proclaimed and given by the previous Emperors to the Serbs in Hungary and Croatia should be rescinded; that the Serb-inhabited military confines, Banat and Batchka in Croatia and Slavonia, should be incorporated as Hungarian territory and that all Serb Orthodox Christians, both clergy and lay, should be forced into the Roman Catholic Church. Maria Theresa subscribed to those conditions in 1741. It was, however, soon discovered in the army that the Magyar contingents were insufficient, and the Vienna Court regretted the absence from Austrian ranks of the Servian "Granitchari," who had won fame on all the battle-fields of Europe, so it came about in April and May, 1743, that Maria Theresa turned to the time-

worn way of her ancestors in dealing with the Serbs when soldiers were needed and proclaimed the re-establishment of their rights and old Statutes. The Serbs in Hungary held back, remembering their former disillusions, and in 1744, in January, the Sabor or Congress of the Servian Orthodox Church communities formulated a brief of complaints citing the many past violations of the resuscitated Statutes proclaimed to the Servians. The energetic stand maintained by the Sabor, emphasised by several local revolts difficult to suppress, resulted in forcing the Hapsburg Sovereign, in 1745, to create a special body called "The Court Commission for Servian Affairs," which two years later developed into the "Illyrian Court Deputation," the Servians being dubbed "Illyrians." [1]

That Commission, and later the Deputation, came into conflict with the Hungarian Court Chancellery.

At that period an interesting development occurred among the Serbs in Hungary. The dominant influence in the Sabor or Congress of the Church Communities, which was largely made up of lay members, many of whom were military leaders, saw the value of educating the people in order that they should be equipped with an enlightened intelligence and trained to fight for their rights. Every available means was employed to that end, even in face of some opposition from within, and in spite of the straitened circumstances of the people schoolhouses were erected

[1] A word which in its turn became inconvenient and was suppressed by edict.

and a kind of public-school system among the Servians was established.

Then it was that teachers and books were brought from Russia who influenced the literary language of the time (see page 379, "Literature"). The form of the language called "Slaveno-Servian" came, indeed, into contest with the pure Servian tongue which had to fight to hold its own.

The conflict between the Illyrian Court Deputation and the Hungarian Court Chancellery caused a great mass of obstructive litigation, as to jurisdiction and interpretation, the practical result of which was to annul all the effect of the Servian Statutes and hinder their observance. The continuation of the relentless persecutions of the Serbs in Hungary and Croatia finally drove the population of the district of Lika to rise in desperate revolt; while in the Banat, Batchka, and the Marosh districts, the Serbs realising the helplessness of their situation and the hopelessness of revolt, began in 1751, under the leadership of Horvat and Toukelya, to emigrate to southern Russia, where they were allowed to occupy the lands which had recently been conquered from Turkey by Russia. That exodus was followed by others in 1752 and 1753 under Preradovich and Shevich, made up in all of over two hundred thousand Serbs. The lands where they settled were, by the Ukase of February 11, 1752, formed into a territorial division called "New Servia." The leader Horvat, afterward a Russian general, founded the town of Jelisavetgrad. The descendants of those Servians have had an important

rôle in Russian history, and although the main part of the emigrants became merged into the general population of their Russian brethren, there still exist today, especially in the Province (or "Government") of Jekaterinoslav, villages which are purely Servian.

The Vienna Court took stern measures to prevent this movement toward Russia, and the stream of Servian emigration, being shut off from the Russian borders, turned southward, pouring back into Turkey.

That was the period under Austrian rule, lasting from 1751 to 1770, when determined attempts were made by merciless methods to drive the Serbs into the Roman Church. In this the Catholic Clergy were seconded by both the military and the civil forces. The record of those events forms a page of governmental persecution and double-dealing unparalleled in history.

Montenegro during the entire eighteenth century was at war with Turkey. That continuous victorious defence against armies sometimes a hundred thousand strong welded into a whole the Clans and Clan-Confederations of those mountains. In that heroic struggle where periods of defeat or partial defeat were always at last crowned by a Servian triumph, the immediate and material results were within a restricted region, but the moral effect was far greater, imbuing the whole race with a consciousness of its fighting mettle and a sense of final invincibility however long and stubborn the contest might prove.

Servian bravery has been praised by Gladstone and sung by Tennyson, and the rugged old brows of

the Black Mountains wear immortal laurels for those victories.

In Bosnia, early in the eighteenth century, began the long fight of the Servian Mohammedans in defence of their rights and Bosnian Autonomy, against the encroachments of Turkish Vizirs and Pashas and the central authority at Constantinople. When the Sultan's contentions prevailed, the Bosnians resisted by arms; when central Ottoman authority was forced to relax, the Turkish Vizirs and Pashas had to submit to the dictations of the Bosnian Assembly composed of the old Serbo-Mohammedan Nobility.

The continual breaking against the Black Mountains of the Turkish assaults, with defeat after defeat of large Ottoman forces; the haughty attitude of the Bosnian Serbs toward the Sultan's authority; and the ceaseless harassing of Turkish rule by the Heydouks throughout all Serb lands made the name of "Serb" a maddening term at Constantinople. In 1766 a firman of the Sultan abolished the Servian Patriarchat of Ipek and placed the Servian Church under the Greek Patriarchat of Constantinople. The Servian higher Clergy were immediately ousted and their places taken by Greeks, bringing a new calamity upon Servians.

The position of the Serbs in Hungary remained unchanged, in spite of nominally different governmental measures and regulations. The Sabor of the Church Communities held in 1768, at the moment when in

Turkey the Ottoman soldiers were disarming the Serbs, formulated demands which finally drew from the Vienna Court in 1770 the so-called "Regulamentum" which defined the competency in Serb affairs of the "Illyrian Court Deputation." The Hungarian Court Chancellery energetically opposed the Regulamentum, which was superseded in 1777 by another "regulation" leading to the outright abolition in the same year of the Illyrian Court Deputation, Servian affairs thereafter being placed partly directly under the Hungarian Court Chancellery and partly under the Court War Council at Vienna.

The Emperor Joseph II, with his accession to the Hapsburg throne in 1780, abolished serfdom in his dominions, temporarily closed the Roman Catholic monasteries, re-established schools, and proclaimed religious toleration. The condition of the Serbs during his reign was also ameliorated.

The Russo-Turkish war, from 1768 to 1774, which brought the victorious Russian fleet before the Dardanelles and the Russian armies up to the Danube, led to the Austro-Turkish alliance of 1771 and the staving off of an Austro-Russian conflict by the peaceful intervention of Prussia who proposed the partition of Poland between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. That partition was accomplished in 1772. In that year also negotiations were begun for the famous so-called "Greek project," which aimed at the partition of the Balkan Peninsula between Austria and Russia, Austria to have the western half

and Russia the eastern, in order to form a re-erected Byzantine Empire under Russian suzerainty.

In 1774 was signed the peace treaty of Koutchouk-Kaïnardji between Turkey and Russia by which Russia obtained the position of protector of the Orthodox Christians throughout the Turkish Empire. In 1781 Joseph II, after the death of Maria Theresa, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with Russia which was the definite formulation of the "Greek project."

In 1787 began the Russo-Turkish war which Austria joined as Russia's ally in 1788. A great part of the Austrian army was composed of "Volunteer Corps" of Servians recruited in the Servian lands under Austria and under Turkey. That war is known in Servian history as "Kotchina Kraïna," from the name of Captain Kotcha, a famous commander of the Serb volunteers. The Servian Corps took from the Turks Kroushevatz and Stoudenitza. The Austrian forces penetrated deep into Bosnia and also in 1789 took Belgrade. The mutual distrust, however, between Austrians and Russians regarding the ultimate division of the spoils of war robbed the campaign of its *élan* and the fighting became lukewarm.

The outbreak at Paris of the French Revolution and the commotion it caused in Europe, and the consequent weakening of the European situation, suggested the expansion of Austria and Russia at the expense of Turkey as a possible outcome. Prussia and England formed an alliance to prevent that eventuality and to interfere if necessary.

In Austria, after the death of the Emperor Joseph II, his brother Leopold II found conditions unsettled and the situation dangerous in Belgium and in Magyar-Hungary. In the face of those circumstances the new Hapsburg ruler was glad to accept the offer of Prussian mediation with Turkey, which culminated in the peace treaty of Sistova, signed in July, 1792, by which the borders of the two States remained *in statu quo ante bellum.*

The Serbs in Austria received from Leopold II—who desired to counterbalance troublesome Magyar exactions—the re-establishment of the Illyrian Court Deputation. That Deputation was again abolished by the successor of Leopold, Francis II, who proclaimed to the Servians in its stead citizenship with full rights, conferring also upon the Serb-Orthodox Metropolitan and Bishops seats and voices in the Hungarian House of Magnates, in the Hungarian Court Chancellery, and in the Council of the Palatinus.

The Emperor Joseph II had promised that in return for the Serb recruits to his armies of 1788–91 the Servian people would not be abandoned, at the close of hostilities, to Turkish fury. It was the Austrian desire to attract a new emigration of Serbs into the Hapsburg realm. When the war drew to an end and peace negotiations were opened up, and it became evident that no exodus of Servians from Turkey to Austria would occur, the Vienna Court, in view of future Servian usefulness, found it necessary to redeem the promises given by the Austrian commanders,

and a clause was inserted in the treaty of Sistova by which Turkey promised full amnesty to the Servians who had fought in the war and certain measures in amelioration of their lot.

From the beginning of the peace negotiations the Serb leaders and representative men had striven energetically to have embodied in the treaty guarantees from Turkey which would lead to the development of their economical, religious, and national liberties, and, going even further, petitions were presented asking for the same conditions of self-government as that exercised by the people in the Principalities of Moldavia and Vallachia. Austria, ever looking forward to the future conquest of the Serb lands, opposed those petitions which would put in the hands of the Serbs the power ultimately to build for themselves a strong State.

After Sistova, however, the Sultan himself, who was then endeavouring to introduce into the Turkish Empire radical reforms of both the administration and the army, yielded to some extent to the Servian demands, and the various rights and privileges which he granted, the most important being the Hatti-Shereef of 1793–4, gave to the Servians a large degree of self-government, which they put to the utmost profit up to the time when, ten years later, the violation of those rights by the Turkish Government and its agents brought about the great Serb rising and war of liberation.

CHAPTER XIV

THE PAST HUNDRED YEARS—WARS OF LIBERATION AND SERVIAN RENASCENCE

Review of the General Situation Affecting the Near Orient up to the Present Day.—Not Europe alone was dominated by the figure of Napoleon in the early years of the nineteenth century, but the work and ambition of that masterful spirit stirred into being new political interests in the Near East and beyond those regions in Asia and the Far Orient.

The wars of the coalitions, in which England took part against France during the Revolution, brought about a revival of the ideas of Leibnitz in regard to Egypt, and in April, 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte received the order to occupy Egypt for France, to cut a canal across the Isthmus of Suez, and to take possession of the Red Sea, so making of Egypt a base of operations for the conquest of India. The French expedition was barren of political results, as was also Napoleon's understanding with the Emperor Paul of Russia for a Franco-Russian conquest of India and Persia.

At the moment when Napoleon was crowning himself Emperor at Notre Dame de Paris, erecting a new empire in the West, the Old Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist, its Hapsburg ruler Franz proclaiming himself Emperor of Austria, and the realm of the Sultan, at the south-eastern limits of Europe, was shaken by the great Serb uprising.

After the battle of Austerlitz, in 1805, Talleyrand proposed to Napoleon to aid Austria to conquer European Turkey, and thrust Russia toward Asia, thereby pitting her against England in India.

In the beginning of his war, in 1806, against Prussia and Russia, Napoleon urged the Sultan of Turkey to make war on Russia, and offered him troops to help put down the Servian rebellion. The Russo-Turkish war broke out during the year. The Servian insurrection was triumphant.

During the negotiation of the treaty of Tilsit to conclude the Franco-Russian-Prussian war, Napoleon changed his attitude toward the Ottoman ruler and made an arrangement with the Emperor Alexander of Russia for a new scheme of Eastern conquest. The plan was to divide up the Turkish Empire between France, Austria, and Russia, who was to conquer India with the aid of her allies. The war in Spain put those plans in abeyance, and Napoleon's war with Austria intervened in 1809. The relations between Russia and France became strained, leading to war in 1812, and Russia brought her war with Turkey to an end by the peace of Bucharest. An article in that treaty stipulated self-government for Servia.

The retreat of Napoleon from Moscow was the acknowledgment of the failure of his plan to throw the Russians further back upon Asia, toward India. The battles of Leipzig and Lutzen, the taking of Paris by allied Europe in 1814, the Congress at Vienna, the Hundred Days, the battle of Waterloo, the capture of Napoleon and his exile to St. Helena brought the Napoleonic era to a close.

The Vienna Congress in 1815 rearranged the map of Europe and undertook to regulate European affairs during the coming decades.

Turkey was in ferment. The second Servian insurrection of 1815 accomplished its purpose, and was the beginning of a long period of weary negotiations with the Sublime Porte, which at last culminated in the recognition of a Servian State.

After the Congress of Vienna, Russia was the supreme land power in Europe. England was the mistress of the seas, having won during the Napoleonic wars not only the complete mastership of India, but Dutch South Africa and the great island positions in the Mediterranean of Malta and the Ionian Isles, and her eyes were thenceforth bent upon Egypt and Suez, Persia and Afghanistan, seeing in those regions the advance posts of her defence of India. Every move of Russian expan-

sion in Asia or in Europe appeared to the statesmen of Great Britain as a step in the great Napoleonic plan of the Russian conquest of India. From that time up to the present day the "Oriental Question" has been the titanic contest between the "Colossus of the North" and the conqueror of India, modified in its various phases by the issues proceeding from the Hapsburg desire for the subjugation of the Balkan lands, the efforts of France in the early years of the century to destroy the work of the Vienna Congress, and later, with the advent of new Germany, to avenge the disaster of 1870–71.

Heartened by the example of the Servians in winning their freedom, the Greeks rose in insurrection in 1821. In order to forestall Russia, who had manifested an inclination to take the lead on behalf of Greek aspirations, Great Britain at once herself intervened in favour of the Greeks. Under the Sultan's orders, Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt began to suppress the Greek rebellion (1825–26). The war-ships of the Powers of Europe assembled in 1828 before Navarino, where a great sea battle destroyed the Turco-Egyptian fleet.

In 1828 Turkey and Russia were again at war. French troops landed in the Morea and compelled the Turco-Egyptian forces to evacuate Greece. France and England, supported by Austria, demanded complete independence for Greece, which they erected into a kingdom (1829), thus eliminating Russian influence from Greek affairs.

By the treaty of Adrianople in 1829, which ended the Russo-Turkish war, Servia was recognised as a principality under Turkish suzerainty.

The moral support which France had accorded to Russia in this war by restraining Austria was remunerated by the Russian moral support against England, which gave France a free hand to occupy Algiers and begin the conquest of her North African Empire.

That same year the French Prime Minister of Charles X, Prince Polignac, put forward a plan for the revision of the treaty of Vienna, according to which Moldavia and Vallachia would fall to Russia, while Servia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina would be given to Austria. The rest of European Turkey was to be formed into a Greek Empire with the King of Holland as its Emperor. Prussia was to receive Holland and Saxony in exchange for which the King of Saxony was to receive the Prussian provinces on the Rhine as a kingdom. France was to come into Belgium and Luxembourg, while to England would

be allotted the Dutch colonies. The French revolution of July made an end of Polignac's project.

The first attempt at reform within the Turkish Empire was the reorganisation of the army and the proclamation after 1830 of "the Tanzimat," a reform which was heralded in by, and which heralded in, the "Young Turk Party." With the Hatti-Shereef Gulhané in 1839 begins a long series of attempted reforms.

In Egypt an Albanian Mehemet Ali Pasha, who had made himself the master of Egypt in 1811 and conquered Yemen and Mecca in 1813, extended his rule over Arabia and Nubia, and began his conquest of Syria in 1831 in rebellion against the Sultan. After the defeat of the Turkish army in Syria the Sultan asked aid of Russia, which England and France vainly endeavoured to prevent, and upon the appearance of Mehemet Ali's troops before Constantinople, Russian soldiers disembarked to defend the Turkish Capital and the Sultan against his rebellious vassal.

In 1833 Russia signed the treaty of Unkiar-Skellessi establishing the Russian right to give military protection to the Sultan and the Ottoman Empire, using the Russian forces of both land and sea.

The treaty of London, in 1840, between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, made the first breach in the Turco-Russian treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi and forced Mehemet Ali to submit to the Sultan.

The convention of the Straits, in 1841, closed the Dardanelles to the military fleets of all nations and made all the Powers of Europe the guarantors of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. That result was a triumph of British over Russian diplomacy, barring to Russia the way to the Mediterranean. In Asia both Russia and England steadily extended their borders, coming nearer and nearer face to face.

In 1839 England by the so-called "Opium" war forced China to open her ports to the admission of Indian opium, and by the treaty of Nankin, in 1842, five Chinese ports were entered commercially by England and afterward gradually opened to the commerce of the other European nations.

In 1848 Europe was convulsed by almost universal revolution in the interests of the new liberal ideas.

The proclamation of Napoleon III, and the Second Empire in France in 1852, accentuated the rivalry for preponderant influence at Constantinople between England and France and Russia, which became acute with the question of the guardianship of the Holy Places, leading to the Crimean war in 1853. That war between Russia and Turkey, aided by France and England, and later by Sardinia, as allies, was brought to an end by the fall of Sebastopol and the treaty of Paris in 1856. The treaty of Paris, which for the first time gave Turkey rank among European nations, placed the Principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Vallachia under the joint guarantee of all the Great Powers, opened the Danube to the navigation of all nations, closed the Black Sea to Russian war-ships, and incidentally instituted the famous "Concert of Europe." The Sultan at the same time published the Hatti-Shereef "Houmayoun," promising further reforms to his subjects.

In 1859 the Franco-Sardinian-Austrian war led to the creation of modern Italy, which by the year 1861 was an accomplished fact. In 1863 the Principality of Roumania was created by the union of Moldavia and Vallachia.

In Asia, the murder of some missionaries in China was the signal which started a war in which France and England fought China, winning the victory of Pali-Kao and terminating the campaign with the notorious looting of the Summer Palace at Pekin in 1860. At once after the cessation of those hostilities the British General Gordon, commanding French and English troops, successfully undertook to put down the great Tai-ping rebellion which for two decades had menaced the existence of the Chinese Empire.

Russia in 1857 bought the Island of Saghalien from Japan, and accorded moral support to China during her conflict with England and France, for which service she received the Amour province in 1858. In 1860 she obtained the extension of that territory to the shores of the sea where she founded the fortress of Vladivostok. In the same year France annexed Cochin-China in the south, and in 1863 Cambodia.

In Central Asia the Russian advance into Turkestan, and Russian aggrandisement at the expense of Persia, were answered by England with the extension of British borders into Afghanistan and Beluchistan. In 1857–58 British rule in India was imperilled by the Indian

mutiny, and the pacification of that country was accompanied by the abolition of the East India Company, and the transformation of India into a Crown Colony whose eastern borders continued to reach out across Burmah to touch the confines of China.

That was the period when Japan was forced to open her ports to European trade, and saw the beginning of those terrific interior revolutions which finally brought forth the new era, starting Japan on her way as a modern Great Power.

In Europe the Austro-Prussian-Italian war of 1866, by thrusting Austria forth from the German Confederation, laid the basis of the modern German Empire.

The Cretan insurrection of the same year against Turkey was ended under European pressure by the Turkish firman of 1868 granting a measure of self-government to Crete.

In the Balkans a Bulgarian nation was slowly awakening into consciousness, and in 1870 seized the newly erected Slavonic Exarchat as chief organ of its own exclusive national aims.

The Franco-German war of 1870–71 changed the French Empire into a republic, and welded into union the various German States, creating the great modern German Empire, which strode at once into the front rank as a formidable factor in all world issues.

During that war the London Conference was called together at the instance of Russia to revise the treaty of Paris and abrogate those clauses which had barred the Black Sea to the Russian military navy.

In the Ottoman Empire during the seventies the failure of all attempts at reform raised a new tide of the "Young Turk" movement, accompanied in quick succession by the insurrections in Bosnia and Herzegovina, bringing in their wake the Serbo-Turkish wars of 1876 and 1878 which in turn led to the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–78, resulting in the treaty of San Stefano and the creation by Russia of a Bulgarian State. The Russian victories which took her to the door of Constantinople were viewed with mistrust by England, France, and Austria, who called upon Russia to lay the treaty of San Stefano before the Congress at Berlin, 1878. That congress recognised the creation of a Principality of Bulgaria under Turkish suzerainty, the complete independence of Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and gave Bos-

nia-Herzegovina for pacification and occupation to Austria-Hungary. The Berlin treaty stipulated also for reforms in Turkey.

After the year 1880 all the European Powers, in furtherance of their industrial and colonial development, entered with augmented energy and determination upon those policies of colonial expansion which enlarged European into world interests wherein "spheres of influence" touched borders and nations grew jealous of neighbourly encroachment in all regions of the earth. The opening of the Suez Canal and the perfection of steam-boat and railway means of transport revived the ancient significance of the eastern Mediterranean and the old overland roads between the Occident and the Orient. The strategic points in the Balkans controlling those routes rose to the first plane of importance.

The French ownership of the Suez Canal and Anglo-French political rivalry gave rise to the Egyptian question, resulting in the passing of the control of the canal to Great Britain, the occupation of Egypt by British troops, the episode of the Mahdi and the British conquest of the Soudan, and the partition of Africa among European Powers.

The main events in the Near East were the union of Bulgaria and eastern Roumelia in 1885, followed by the Serbo-Bulgarian campaign, the Arminian massacres, a Cretan insurrection leading to the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, and the final regulation of affairs in Crete which became a self-governing Turkish province under the protection of the Powers. A series of attempts at insurrection in Macedonia attracted the attention of the world toward the bad state of affairs in European Turkey and led to various efforts by the European nations to enforce reforms in those regions.

In the Far East the Chinese-Japanese war of 1894 brought Japan to the front and gave Port Arthur to Russia and Wei-ha-wei to England.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 established the interests of America in the Far East, and placed her as a world power in the race of nations.

The suppression of the Boxer movement in 1900 gave Russia the opportunity to occupy Manchuria.

Along all the line from the Near East to the Pacific, Russian and

British interests stood opposed to each other. In view of the Russian situation, England concluded an alliance with Japan encouraging her to contest for Manchuria with Russia. The Russo-Japanese war, fought in 1904–5, made Japan the dominant factor in the Far East and aroused all the Oriental races, including those of India, to a sense of racial self-confidence and thrilled them with hitherto unknown hopes, reviving memories of Ghenghis Khan and the former tides of conquest which rolled westward from the Far Orient.

In Europe the stupendous economical development of Germany, with her rapid increase of population, necessitating relief through colonial expansion and the acquirement of additional trade markets, gave her the guise of an aggressive and formidable foe to British commercial supremacy on the seas of the world, and the isolation of Germany became the chief aim of the British rulers and statesmen. By the Franco-British entente, England joined in sympathetic co-operation with forces hostile to Germany and entered into negotiations with the other European Powers to form a ring about the Hohenzollern Empire.

That policy was forced to obtain the interested co-operation of the other Great European Powers and revived old plans of territorial redistribution. The first answer to those political transactions came from Germany in the Morocco affair, and the next move counter to those plans came from the Sultan and the Young Turks, in the proclamation of a constitution, incidentally depriving the Powers of any occasion to reform Turkey. The European combinations tending toward German isolation were crippled by the unforeseen action of Turkey, which was accepted with good grace by all of the Powers of Europe except Austria-Hungary, whose immediate response was the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Servia was closely bound in by that event, while Bulgaria, profiting by the general condition at the time proclaimed herself an independent kingdom.

Political and commercial rivalries and contests between English, German, and French interests have superseded for the time being the basic situation of Anglo-Russian antagonism, and are bound to form the pivot of European and world politics for some time to come.

THE Firman of 1793 granted by the Sultan to the Serbs as a result of the treaty of Sistova, allowing them a degree of self-government, and the appointment of Betchir Pasha, who as the Turkish Administrator of the Pashalik of Belgrade worked harmoniously with the Servians, brought in a few years of hope and general betterment. Betchir Pasha in his dealings with the Serbs took counsel with the representative men of the people.

In answer to the petitions of the Serbs to be delivered from the lawless and outrageous conduct of the Janissaries, a clause was obtained in the treaty of Sistova forbidding the Janissaries to reside within the Servian Pashalik.

At the end of the eighteenth century the Ottoman State was at its lowest ebb of weakness. Disorder prevailed throughout the land. Sultan Selim undertook to reorganise the army and administration. His reform projects provoked many of the Pashas to revolt, and some of them, with the help of the Janissaries and the Krdjalias, declared themselves and their Pashaliks independent of Constantinople.[1]

One of these revolted Pashas was Pasvan-Oglou of Vidin. The Janissaries who had been excluded from Servian lands flocked to Pasvan-Oglou and urged him to lead them in an organised effort to force re-entrance into the Belgrade Pashalik. The Vizir Mustapha Pasha, successor of Betchir Pasha,

[1] The Janissaries up to that time had been stationed more or less in military settlements whose administration they had in hand. The Krdjalias were also a part of the military formation; they were mercenaries composed of Christians as well as Turks in the service of the Pashas.

called upon the Servians to form volunteer corps and join his troops in defence of the Belgrade Pashalik against the invasion again and again attempted by Pasvan-Oglou, who had seized the occasion as an opportunity to conquer for himself the Pashalik of Belgrade. The Sublime Porte, too weak to force him into submission, came to terms of peace with him in 1799, finding it the better part of wisdom to hastily accede to the return to Servia of the Janissaries, who soon filled the land again, bent upon re-establishing their former sway.

In 1800 Pasvan-Oglou again revolted against the Sultan, who then gave orders to Mustapha Pasha, Vizir of Belgrade, to finally bring the rebel to submission.

In that war the Servians came forward to join Mustapha's army with several purely Servian corps in good military organisation under their own commanders. That evidence of the unsuspected power of the Servians to put in the field a regular, well-ordered military force created a disagreeable surprise in Constantinople, and resulted in orders given by the Sublime Porte in 1801 for the complete disarming of the Servian people.

At this time the Janissaries had seized the Fortress of Belgrade, drowned the Sultan's representative, Mustapha Pasha, and set themselves up as administrators of the land. The new Pasha sent from Constantinople was held as a prisoner by them and forced to execute their orders. All rights of the Serbs were swept away and the country subjected to a system of close exploitation under agents of the Jan-

issaries whose methods were orgies of rapine, plunder, and violence. The Spahis—Turkish landlords—were spared no more than the Servians, and sent bitter complaints to the Sultan, who was powerless to give redress. The Spahis then attacked the Dahias—the ringleaders of the Janissaries had assumed that title—but were defeated near Pozharevatz in 1803.

As the Dahias (Janissaries) were reigning in defiance of the Sultan's authority, the Serbs began, supported by the Spahis, to organise a rising for the recovering of their rights. During the year 1803 careful preparations were in progress, ammunition and arms were brought into the country, provisions stored and communications opened up with the Serbs of Herzegovina and Montenegro for simultaneous military action. Part of the correspondence on that subject revealing the Servian plans fell into the hands of the Dahias, who saw the storm coming and resolved to prevent it by a massacre of all Servians of influence or pre-eminence.

In the beginning of January, 1804, the four Dahias —leaders of the Janissaries—each being allotted a district, made ready to execute the design. By many ruses and treacherous means they entrapped all Servians who were considered to be of importance, or else they swooped down suddenly upon them, slaying them either secretly or boldly wherever found.

Those massacres were the immediate cause of the Servian insurrection.

1. LOYAL SERB RISING, 1804–5

Within a week of those massacres, that is, by the end of January, 1804, several strong Heyduk bands had begun operations against the Janissaries in the Shoumadia and the Koloubara districts, and within a fortnight the Servian chiefs came together in conference at Orashatz, where a man known to possess inexorable will power and herculean physical strength was elected supreme leader of the rebellion. This man was George Petrovich, known since in history as Kara-George (Black George). He had served in the Austrian army as a non-commissioned officer, had fought as a Heyduk, and at intervals had filled the post of Head Pandour or police officer at the Monastery of Krushedol, in Slavonia.

The election of Kara-George as Supreme Leader of the Insurrection, on January 20, 1804, was described by P. Yokich, who was present, as follows (literal translation):

> At Orashatz, besides the leaders, there were present about five hundred other Servians under arms. . . .
>
> The next day, January 20, we wanted to elect a chief. Everybody desired George, but he refused.
>
> "Why dost thou not accept?" they asked him.
>
> "What—what!" said Kara-George. "I want to go with you wherever you go, but not before you!"
>
> "Why dost thou not wish that?"
>
> "For this, you've not learned soldiering, and because of that, after some days, you will surrender to the Turks, then you know what will happen!"
>
> "We will not! We will not!" they clamoured. "Thou

before us, and we after thee, then through fire! through fire! through water! through water! only be our chief!"

"Again, brothers, I cannot accept for if I accepted I certainly would do much not to your liking."

"What thinkst thou to do?" they asked.

"If one of you were taken in the smallest treachery—the least faltering—I would kill him, hang him, punish him in the most fearful manner."

The people answered, "That, too, we want!"

"You want that?" asked Kara-George.

"We want it so! we want it so! we want it so!" three times they answered.

"Lift up your three fingers! Do you want it to be as I said?"

"We do!" they all cried back.

"Do you want that?" again asked Kara-George.

"We do,"—and yet again, "Do you want that?" "We do."

"Then I, too, want you!" said Kara-George.

Then the Arch-priest of Boukovik put on his sacerdotal robes and accepted and consecrated that oath according to the sacred law.

From that time on, Kara-George took supreme direction and command of the whole movement, and everything went according to one man's command.

In the middle of February the revolt burst forth throughout the whole Pashalik. Servians from the adjoining lands were ready in large numbers to join the insurrection.

Besides Kara-George, there came to the front as leaders Ianko Katich, Sima Markovich, Vassa Tcharapich, who raised the standard of revolt in the Belgrade and Grotzka districts, and Mladen Milovanovich, a rich merchant of Botunia, near Kragouyevatz, put his whole fortune at the disposition of the insurrection. At the first sound of revolt in the Shoumadia

all the other districts had sprung to arms. In the Koloubara, Jacob Nenadovich, whose brother Alexa had been slaughtered in the massacres, led the people, drove the Turks from the town of Valyevo, then invaded Shabatz, in the north, where he joined forces with Popa Luka Lazarevich. In the Shabatz district also Heyduk Djourchia and his men were at work. These three forces in junction soon held all the Shabatz country, up to the river Drina.

In eastern Servia, in the districts between the Morava River and the Timok, the standard was borne by Milenko Stoykovich, and lower down by Petar Dobrnyatz, while Todorovich raised the Resava district. Within less than a week from the first outbreak the entire country was in arms; sharp fighting with Janissary forces occurred on all sides. The first important encounter with the Dahias took place near Svileyva and the Monastery of Tchokoshima.

The Servians first cleared Yasenitza (in central Servia) of the Turks, then Rudnik and Valiyevo were besieged and burned. The Dahias began to organise their defence, and took into their service the mercenary leader Goushanatz Ali, from Yagodina, and his five hundred Krdjalias.

The Servians captured the fortresses of Shabatz, then Pozharevatz, surrounded Smederevo and laid siege to Belgrade, where the Dahias were held at bay. The Servians then occupied a line from the Sava River to the Danube across the neck of land on which Belgrade stands, so cutting it off from the mainland. On the Sava was Jacob Nenadovich; on the Danube

was Tcharapich; and between them, Kara-George and Katich, and each force strongly intrenched.

During this first great movement the main mass of the Serbs had no thought of aiming the rebellion against the Sultan, but considered that they were fighting the Janissaries to re-establish the Sultan's authority and regain the rights of which they had been stripped by the Dahias. Though the leaders looked ahead to the ultimate outcome they strictly maintained the attitude of acting in loyal defence of the Sultan's authority. That demeanour assured them the non-interference of the neighbouring Pashaliks.

The Serb leaders realised the necessity of securing the support of some foreign Power at Constantinople, and addressed petitions to Austria, and later on, at the advice of the Servians in Austria, they sent a deputation to Russia. Those two Powers, in jealous rivalry, each made some representation to the Sultan on behalf of the Serbs.

The Sublime Porte was aroused to action by these events, and sent Betchir Pasha, then Vizir of Bosnia, to pacify the Belgade Pashalik. In the second half of July, Betchir arrived at the camp of the Servian army which was investing Belgrade. At the appearance of Betchir Pasha the Dahias fled from Belgrade and took refuge in the fortress of Ada-Kaleh, on an island in the Danube, where, at the orders of the Turkish Vizir, they were all beheaded (July 25, 1804).

The Vizir Betchir then requested the Servians to disarm and return to their homes. The Servians refused to comply with that proposal, and demanded

instead a conference with the Vizir for the consideration of their future relations with the Sublime Porte, with the view of arriving at some arrangement which they desired to have guaranteed by a foreign Power. Betchir refused to accede to that request, but came to terms in an agreement with them which he promised should be confirmed by the Sultan's firman.

The promised firman did not arrive, and in October Betchir found it prudent to quietly leave Belgrade and return to Bosnia. At that moment it flashed upon the general mind of the whole Servian people that nothing less than complete liberation was to be their goal. The same idea dawned on the Sultan at Stamboul, and the Sublime Porte began a series of unsuccessful attempts to wile the Serbs into submission. Both Austria and Russia, fearing that Napoleon might espy an occasion to intervene in the situation, made demonstrations of sympathy with the Serbs, Austria even consenting to close her eyes to the smuggling of war material into Servia and the deserting over her borders of Austrian-Serb Granitchars, both officers and men, to swell the ranks of the Servian rebellion.

The Servian insurrectional forces augmented daily in numbers and in confidence. In April, 1805, a general National Skupshtina assembled which passed resolutions formulating the Servian demands, which were complete self-government, the right of the Serbs to elect their own governing Prince, absolute freedom of religious faith, and the transformation of all taxes and levies into one lump sum of tribute. The Serbs in turn promised to recognise the suzerainty of the

Sultan, but demanded that no Turkish authority should interfere in the Servian interior administration. The same assembly elected a deputation to lay those demands before the Sublime Porte, and despatched the envoys to Constantinople in May, 1805.

The Servian forces meanwhile continued to clear district after district of the Pashalik of the Turks.

In Constantinople the Servian military progress was the subject of some alarm, but its full menace was not realised. Nevertheless, it was seen that action was necessary in order to check the rebellion. Hafiz Pasha, of Nish, was ordered to enter the Belgrade Pashalik and disarm the Serbs.

Hafiz, on making his way from Nish with an army of about forty thousand men, found his advance in the Morava Valley barred by the Servian forces under the command of Milenko Stoykovich and Petar Dobrnyatz. There, on August 6, 1805, he fought the Serbs at Ivankovatz in a two days' battle ending in the complete rout of the Turks, who fled back to Nish; their commander, Hafiz Pasha, died from his wounds.

With the victory of Ivankovatz the last thought of loyalty to the Sultan vanished and the war for liberation began boldly.

The battle of Ivankovatz gave rise to characteristic incidents.

When Hafiz Pasha with his troops, forty thousand strong, arrived at Parachin, he found the straight road past the hamlet of Ivankovatz, near Tchoupria, barred by strong intrenchments in the possession of Servian insurrectional forces of a strength of two thou-

sand five hundred riflemen and one cannon, under the command of Milenko Stoykovich and Petar Dobrnyatz. Being refused, after some parley, the right of way, Hafiz Pasha gave orders to his troops to brush the few Serbs aside and continue their march. The Turkish assault on the Servian position began in the morning about seven o'clock and continued in vain, being repeatedly repulsed, until nightfall. During that day for a short moment the Turks were able to enter one of the Servian trenches, where the cannon was placed, but were swiftly driven out again. One Servian party attacked the enemy from the rear and by rare fortune captured the Turkish ammunition and provision train. Fighting was suspended during the night, each side holding its position. Early the next morning the Turks, who had lost heavily, fell back six miles to the town of Parachin. During the day Kara-George arrived with the main mass of the Servian forces, crossed the Morava River, and in the evening the whole Servian army was concentrated near Parachin, where they intrenched themselves on the hills overlooking the town.

The story of the evening in the Servian camp, as here set down, was told by an eye-witness, Petar Yokich:

When the trenches had been dug, Kara-George sat down on a cannon and asked if there was any brandy (slivovitza). They brought him a choutoura of brandy and a cake of maize corn. He drank and passed the choutoura about to us all; he also divided the cake with us. In the darkness of night, Parachin, far down below us, seemed to be almost in flames, full of life and movement, Light streamed from the Konak where

Hafiz Pasha was. The pipes and flutes were playing, drums were beating, and something very gay was going on down there.

At that moment Stephan, the scribe, came to our group and began to look the gun over and feel of it. He turned to Kara-George and said: "Let me just once fire this gun on the Turks!"

"Good Lord! you!" answered Kara-George.

"Commander, I beg of you! let me only take one shot—just one—at the Konak down there!" pleaded Stephan.

"But you might kill the Pasha!" said the commander.

"What then? suppose I do kill him!" urged Stephan.

"Ha! ha! ha!" laughed Kara-George derisively. "No, no, don't do that!—what? make orphans of his children!—why they would have nobody to buy them shoes!—they might catch cold running around barefoot and die of fever!"

"What of that!" replied Stephan. "Grant me the favour I ask!"

"Well, fire away!" said Kara-George, "since you are so stuck on it!"

Stephan sprang to the gun, pointed it as well as he could, and then yelled out "pli" as he lit the fuse. "Boom!" went the cannon; the ball cut the air like lightning, and far below fell exactly in the house which was the most lit up. In one instant all noise in the town came to a stand-still, the lights went out, the flutes and pipes stopped, there was darkness and silence.

"Hello! look! I have killed the Pasha sure enough!" said Stephan, puffing himself up. "What! made all those orphans?" said Kara-George.

. . . . . .

The rest of the night passed quietly. At daybreak Kara-George called on the cavalry to leave the trenches; they ranged themselves in fighting order—and there are the Turks—attacking like hungry wolves! We drive them back; and they assault the position of Milenko Stoykovich. He too drives them back. Already the hot mid-day sun begins to cook the brains

in our skulls. At noon the Turks sway backward. Between four and five in the afternoon they again charge, but more feebly; they do not cross the stream of the Tzrnitza which is between us, and we on our side do not cross it toward them. Suddenly we see the Turks falling back swiftly, then running, and very soon there beyond Parachin, on the Tsrveni Breg, we behold them in full flight,—pell! mell!—first the infantry, then the cavalry, running for their lives—skedaddling!

. . . . . .

Presently we saw coming toward us from Parachin town seven people—three Serbs and four Turks—one, a white-bearded Turk, spoke for the others. Kara-George told them to sit down, and questioned them. "What—what! what's the matter with you Turks?" Thereupon the white-bearded Turk went down on his knees and began to speak. "Bey George! thou need not boast of thy heroism, since God gave it to thee."

"Thank God for it!" sharply answered Kara-George, in his ordinary twanging voice. The Turk went on to say: "Here there came from Nish, Hafiz Pasha with his immense brave army; we in Parachin believed that no Emperor lived who could stop him; and how could poor Milenko hope to do anything against him! He passed and attacked at Ivankovatz. But it was not long until they began to bring back the dead and the wounded; more and more came back, and at last he himself—Hafiz—came back. Milenko with a handful of men had defeated Hafiz Pasha, and such an army! Then news was brought that thou wert arrived, and the Pasha called us last night to a Divan, and said to us: 'Milenko has brought shame on me! and now, here comes also this black dog! so to-morrow we will attack, one volley of shot first, then to it with the swords!' His officers all cried back: 'Very good! it shall be so!' In that second thy cannon boomed, the ball fell among us and burst. We ran in all directions, screaming '*medet!*' but when they brought a light, there we had something to see! A piece of the ball had broken the Pasha's leg in two! The Turks were not themselves to-day; the Pasha, agonised in pain, and the army saw that God is helping thee!

"The Pasha went away, God only knows where! We are here in God's hand and thine, Bey George; we will give whatever thou askest!"

2. FIRST WARS OF LIBERATION

The battle of Ivankovatz was the turning-point in Servian destiny and heralded in the war with the Sultan and the Turkish Empire for freedom. When news of that victory reached Constantinople the Servian deputation fled for refuge to a Russian battleship which was anchored in the harbour. To the Sublime Porte the news was strange and appalling—a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Among the Servians, too, the effect of the victory was electric, thrilling them to a consciousness of strength and the power to win. In Vienna the surprise was disagreeable, but the fear of possible French and Russian intervention led the Austrians to support the Russian proposals at Constantinople on behalf of the Serbs. The Ottomans, who were shocked and shame-struck, refused to give ear to the diplomats, and in the autumn of 1805 the Sultan ordered the Vizir of Bosnia and the Vali of Roumelia (Bulgaria and Macedonia) to invade the Belgrade Pashalik and master the insurrection.

In Europe, after Napoleon's victory of Austerlitz and the Peace of Pressburg, the French came into possession of Dalmatia and began to exercise a direct influence in the Balkans. The Russian statesmen, fearing in view of the new European situation that Napoleon might find advantage in a Russo-Turkish

war, counselled the Servians to send another deputation to Stamboul which was supported by Russian representations. Russia then pointed out to the Porte that Napoleon might support the Serbs.

But Napoleon, on his part, gave assurance to the Sultan that France would never back up the Serbs, declared that the whole insurrection was a Russian plot, and advised the Porte to crush it out with all possible speed.

The Servians, understanding the truth of the old military axiom, "the best defence is to take the offensive," attacked and defeated Pasvan-Oglou near Soko-Banya in February, 1806. Milenko Stoykovich, victor of Ivankovatz, occupied the island of Poretch in the Danube at the "Iron Gates," Petar Dobrnyatz moved toward Nish over Parachin and Razhan, intrenching himself at a point which he called "Deli-Grad," commanding the defiles of the Morava and all the roads leading from Nish and Pirot northward. In the south, Mladen Milovanovich progressed across Krushevatz southward toward Kossovo in order to command the roads leading into Servia from the south-west; in the north-west, Jacob Nenadovich took up a position in defence of the Drina River.

In the spring and summer of 1806 the Turkish forces advanced into Servia in the west from Bosnia and in the south from Nish.

The Turkish western army of fifty thousand men from Bosnia were first repulsed by Stoyan Tchoupich near Salash, but later in the summer were able to make the passage of the Drina, and under the com-

mand of the Seraskiers, Koulin Kapetan and Mehemet Kapetan, advancing eastward they encountered the Servian troops fifteen thousand strong under Kara-George, near Shabatz, where on August 1 was fought the famous battle of Mishar.

Kara-George had his infantry, nine thousand strong, intrenched near the village of Mishar. Early before the dawn he sent his cavalry of six thousand to go into cover in a near-by wood, under orders to attack the Turkish advance on the flank and at the back, taking as a signal the beginning of the Servian rifle fire. At dawn the Turkish Seraskier Koulin ordered an assault on the Servian position. Kara-George had given orders to his infantry in the trenches to refrain from firing until he gave the signal. He allowed the Turks to come on, without response, until they were within very short range, almost up to the trenches. Then he gave the signal, and a sudden overwhelming rifle and artillery fire decimated the Turks and brought them to a stand-still. They wavered and fell back. Kara-George, seizing the psychological moment, ordered his infantry out of the trenches to a counter-charge. At the same moment his cavalry in the woods, at the signal of the Servian rifle fire, charged the Turkish flank and rear. The sudden combined infantry and cavalry attack from the Serbs demoralised the Turkish army which fell into confusion and stampeded. At six o'clock in the evening the main part of the Turkish forces had reached Shabatz, short of food for horse and man and lacking ammunition. Encamping under protection of the guns of the citadel, they hastily threw up earthworks

in terror lest the Serbs should pursue them and storm the fortress.

Kara-George at once, after the battle, sent two thousand cavalry to Kitok, on the Drina, to cut off the retreat of the Turkish fugitives across the river. For a whole week after the battle of Mishar the Servians were occupied in driving the shattered remains of the Turkish army across the Sava River into Austria and Bosnia, and gathering in rich spoils of artillery, ammunition, and other arms, with provisions of all kinds and much money.

In the south the advance of Ibrahim Pasha's army of forty thousand was halted by the fortifications of Deligrad, where Petar Dobrnyatz successfully held out for several weeks. When Kara-George arrived from Mishar with the main part of his victorious army, the Turkish commander saw that any further attempt to force a passage was useless, and got authorisation from the Sultan to ask for an armistice, which was granted by Kara-George.

In view of the strained relations between Russia and Turkey, foreboding the declaration of war at any moment, the Servian insurrection became a factor of great importance to both parties—an aid to Russia and a peril to Turkey, who hastened to find means to come to terms with the Serbs. The Sultan gained time by according to Petar Ichko, the Servian envoy to Constantinople, conditions which were acceptable to the insurgents. But it was soon apparent that the Sublime Porte had no intention of keeping faith, and hostilities were renewed. On November 30 (old

style), 1806, the Servians took the outer fortress of Belgrade by storm and within a month forced the citadel to capitulate. At the same time the fortress of Shabatz also fell before the Serbs.

There was no longer any question on either side of expecting the fulfilment of the terms accorded to Petar Ichko.

War broke out between Russia and Turkey, and Russia asked the Serbs for co-operation. Kara-George entered into communication with the Russian Commander-in-Chief, General Prosorovski, and a few months later, when the Serbs and Russians had joined forces, a Russian force was sent to Servia to co-operate with the insurrectional army.

In July, 1807, the Serbo-Russian troops defeated the Turks at Shtoubik; the Serbs took the fortress of Ouzhitza and made themselves master of the Yadar and Radjevina districts. In all the encounters the Servians were successful against the Turks.

Meanwhile, in Europe, Napoleon was gaining his victories of Jena and Auerstadt and Friedland, and with the treaty of Tilsit, in 1807, he entered into a close understanding with the Emperor of Russia. The treaty held terms ostensibly aimed at bringing about peace between that Empire and Turkey, but in accordance with secret articles the French and Russian Emperors agreed to make common cause against the Ottoman, who was to be stripped of his European territories.

The French General Guilleminot acted as intermediary, and an armistice was concluded between Tur-

key and Russia on August 24 at Slobozi. The Russian commander failed to include the Servian troops in the terms of that armistice, and in Servia the fighting still went on, the Turkish forces continuing to meet with disaster at the hands of the Serbs.

The official Russian omission at Slobozi was exploited by Austria and Turkey to arouse Servian mistrust of Russia, but the Emperor, Alexander II of Russia, refused to ratify the Slobozi preliminaries; and the Sultan as placation offered to include the Serbs in the armistice.

The Sublime Porte, further to win favour with the Servians and if possible to estrange them from the Russians, proposed to negotiate with them through the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople on the basis of the former treaty of Ichko. The Serbs demanded that this new proposed Serbo-Turkish treaty should be guaranteed by Russia and France, a condition which was unacceptable to the Porte, and brought the negotiations to an end.

The year 1808, a time of great interior trouble for Turkey, was employed by the Sultan in a succession of ineffectual attempts to control the Serbs by diplomatic measures, and no serious campaigns were undertaken against them in the field.

3. INTERIOR ORGANISATION OF NEWLY FREED SERVIA

War had practically ceased and the Servians set themselves to organise their new State.

From the outbreak of the insurrection in 1804, as district after district responded to the call, each had

come into the movement under command of its local leader or Obor-knez, who was not only the military chief of his Nahia but was also its judicial and executive head. These formations were the broken fragments of the old Servian Zhupa organisation which, whether dormant or sporadically able to assert itself, had managed to survive the long period of Turkish domination.

The Serbs had elected a Sovet, or Senate, of three or four men which from 1805 on acted as the supreme administrative and judicial body. The same formation came by degrees to be repeated locally in the districts, the voyvod retaining only the military leadership, while the chief administrative and judicial powers were vested in a magisterial body of two or three members.

By 1808 the entire territory of the new Servian State was divided into twelve counties, or Nahias, and the Sovet had become augmented to twelve Senators, one for each county. The Senate exercised supreme administrative and judicial functions and also legislative power in co-operation with the National Assembly or Skupshtina. The Skupshtina was the survival of the ancient Servian Sabor, or States-Assembly, which survived clandestinely during the Turkish period.

As the Servian territory was by degrees freed, Kara-George as supreme commander grew more and more to consider himself the natural chief representative of the acquired territory.

In different districts those who took up arms and led bodies of men in the fight and became self-con-

stituted authorities were not always willing to recognise Kara-George as supreme leader. That antagonism was the cause of much friction among various leaders. When the Skupshtina, composed of delegates from the freed districts, met at the end of 1805, Kara-George was confirmed as supreme military leader, but the Skupshtina decreed at the same time that the supreme administrative and judicial power should repose in the Sovet.

When, in 1806–7, the conflict was carried beyond the borders of the Belgrade Pashalik, Kara-George began to arrogate to himself supreme powers as head of the new-born State. Many of the voyvods who had done fine work in the campaigns considered themselves as equals of Kara-George from a civil point of view, and therefore at the meeting of the Skupshtina in 1807–8 they united in a protest against the growing assumption of individual power by Kara-George, and pressed the Senate to check and keep within prescribed bounds the exercise of supreme authority by the military commander-in-chief. Kara-George was able, however, to maintain his dominant position chiefly from the fact that he represented the Shumadia, the central and stronger block of the whole territory, while the other voyvods and leaders came from outlying and border districts. They did not easily renounce their claims, and there consequently sprang up in the Servian Parliament two distinct parties or groups of opinion pro and contra Kara-George as supreme authority. In that contest appeared the conflicting theories of decentralisation and centralisation, which in their effort at adjustment

began the long constitutional struggle which lasted throughout the nineteenth century.

The decentralising tendencies were supported by Russian, Austrian, and Turkish intrigues, reaction against which caused the election, December 14, 1808, by the Servian National Assembly of Kara-George as Chief Executive.

With the progress of the insurrection and the clearing out of the Turks from all towns and larger villages, public schools were established, and at Belgrade was founded a high school or college, called "Velika Shkola" (great school), which later in the nineteenth century developed into the Belgrade University.

The Servians not only aimed at complete independence, but began in the use of their newly acquired liberty to create conditions which would lead to the ultimate unification of Servia, Montenegro, and Herzegovina.

4. WAR FROM 1809 TO 1813

When, by the treaty of Tilsit, France made a convention with Russia concerning the Oriental Question, Austria adopted a hostile attitude against both Russia and Servia and succeeded in bringing about an alliance between England and Turkey in January, 1809. That alliance broke up the Turko-Russian peace negotiations for a treaty, whose terms included the recognition of the complete independence of Servia under Russian and Turkish guarantee and protection, and in April, 1809, war again broke out, Turkey fighting both Russia and Servia.

In the beginning of the campaigns Russia, although favoured by the Franco-Austrian war, flagged in her military operations against Turkey, whose forces were thereby left free to direct their main pressure against the Servians.

In 1809 the Senate in council of war organised the Serb forces in several commands, and ordered an attack on the enemy before his preparations could be completed.

One division under the joint command of Sima Markovich and Luka Lazarevich were ordered to cross the Drina and enter Bosnia; a second division under Kara-George was sent to meet and join forces with the Montenegrins and so cut off Bosnia from Constantinople; the third and strongest division under Miloye Petrovich was to attack Nish; and the fourth division under Milenko Stoykovich, the victor of Ivankovatz, was to advance along the Danube and join forces with the Russians. In conjunction with the larger divisions, a number of small expeditions were provided, ready to act as occasion should require, especially in maintaining communications.

All of the forces began to move in the spring of 1809. The first division in two columns crossed the Drina, took Bielina, Srebrenitza, and several other fortified towns, defeated the Turks in a series of engagements, and penetrated almost to Serayevo, in Bosnia.[1]

At the same time the fourth or eastern division

[1] On account of the mountainous nature of Servia and the surrounding countries, the largest force of men that can be successfully handled is from four to five thousand. This applies to all of the country except the valley of the Morava and the Matchva district where large forces can operate.

under Milenko Stoykovich took Brza-Palanka, entered into communication with the Russian troops which were encamped on the opposite bank of the Danube, and laid siege to Kladovo.

The second division under Kara-George crossed the mountain ridge of the Yavor, entered the Lim territory (the present Sandjak of Novi-Bazar), defeated the Pasha of Ipek near Souvodol, took by storm Sientitza and Nova Varosh, roused into insurrection the Serb clans on the Lim, and came into communication with Montenegro. He then stormed the town of Novi-Bazar and laid siege to its citadel. A strong detachment of Kara-George's force crossed the stream of Toplitza, overthrew the Turks near Samakov, advanced over Prepolatz to the stream of the Lab, and thence reached Prodouyevatz on Kossovo Plain.

Miloye Petrovich, commanding the third division, whose object was Nish, arrived before that place and intrenched himself on the northern ridges commanding the Nish Basin. He then sent small detachments into the surrounding country and beyond Nish to rouse the inhabitants.

The Grand Vizir having nothing to fear from the Russians, who had not yet begun their advance, concentrated an army eighty thousand strong south of Nish, and attacked the positions of the Servian third division. The Servian Senate which directed the operations was divided against itself by reason of the two opposing elements pro and contra Kara-George. That interior dissension and the conflict of part of the Senate with Kara-George resulted in much confu-

sion created by orders and counter-orders delivered to the third division by the Commander-in-Chief on one side and by his opponents in the Senate on the other.

The Turks assaulted the intrenched Serb position on the Tchegar ridge near the village of Kamenitza, the key to the situation, protecting the Servian line of retreat and held by three thousand men under Stevan Sindjelich. The attacking force numbered over four times that of the whole Servian third division. The Serbs under Sindjelich stood the brunt of the Turkish attack for two days, waiting vainly for the main mass of the division which failed to arrive in time on account of conflicting orders from headquarters. The Turks made fierce onrushes one after another until the ditches before the Serb position were filled with their dead and wounded; finally, when they penetrated the Servian intrenchment in one great charge, the Serbs being reduced to some few hundreds, Sindjelich, in despair of receiving aid, put fire to his powder magazine and blew up himself and his men together with large numbers of the charging Turkish force. The date was May 19, 1809. The main mass of the Servian third division menaced in its line of retreat, and finding resistance useless, fell back to the fortified position of Deligrad. The disaster cost four thousand killed to the Serbs and about fifteen thousand killed and wounded to the Turks. The Turks in token of the day built, near Nish, on the roadside, the "Tower of Skulls" ("Tchele-koula"), in the walls of which they inset the skulls of the Servians who had fallen on the

field of battle. When the Serb troops, in February, 1878, entered Nish as victors they found this tower studded with the Servian skulls still standing, and to-day, though the skulls have been reverently removed and placed in a memorial chapel, the ruins of the sinister monument still remain, a pendant to the monument erected by the nation to the heroic Sindjelich and his men. To-day, too, at the foot of the ridges where the Serbs made their desperate stand, on the scene of Sindjelich's fierce act of self-immolation, there looms the vast powder magazine of the modern, strongly fortified Servian town of Nish.

On receiving news of the Servian defeat, Kara-George, who was investing Novi-Bazar, at once hurried with his forces to Deligrad. He at the same time gave orders to the first division under Sima Markovich, operating in Bosnia, to concentrate in its rear; like orders were issued to the commander of the eastern division, Milenko Stoykovich, who was laying siege to Kladovo and who was also enjoined to obtain and bring with him the Russian reinforcements which were to be directed toward the line of the Morava River.

Before all these movements could be executed, and before the arrival of reinforcements was possible, Kara-George found himself unable to hold Deligrad and was obliged first to evacuate this fortified position and fall back to Tchoupria, and from there he was again forced slowly northward. The situation of the Servian army at that moment was extremely critical, especially as the rear-guard, twelve hundred men under Anta Boghitchevich, of the first division,

left to protect the line of the Drina, was shut up in its intrenchments near Losnitza, hard pressed by Turkish forces from Bosnia, which subjected them to continuous and heavy artillery fire.

At that moment the Russian army, which had been waiting for reinforcements, crossed the Danube and invaded Bulgaria and the Grand Vizir saw himself forced to meet the Russian advance leaving only a corps twelve thousand strong under Goushanatz Ali to oppose the Servians north of Tchoupria. Kara-George at once took the offensive, attacked Goushanatz Ali, and drove him southward toward Nish. The Serb Commander-in-Chief then left a small observation force opposed to the defeated Turkish troops of Goushanatz Ali, and hastened with his main army to the Bosnian border, engaged the Turks from Bosnia in battle, defeated them, and threw them back across the Drina. At the end of 1809 the Serbs had regained once more all the territory they had conquered from the Turks in 1806 and held at the beginning of 1808. Winter forced a cessation of hostilities on all sides.

After Napoleon's victory of Wagram and the conclusion of his peace treaty of Schönbrunn in 1809 with the Austrian Emperor, he created out of the Serb lands of Dalmatia and the western parts of Croatia the "Illyrian Kingdom," which he held directly under French administration up to 1813.

During those few years under the French the natural impulse of the people toward improving their condition were left unhampered and the whole re-

gion saw great material and cultural progress; many schools were opened and the Orthodox Servian Church, being left free in its operation, took a large part in the educational development. The magnificent roads and stone bridges along the Dalmatian littoral and in western Croatia which are to-day the country's pride were all surveyed and finished under the Napoleonic administration.

The creation of the "Illyrian Kingdom" by Napoleon and his other territorial formations in Poland put a strain upon the relations between Russia and France. That aggravation increased when Napoleon, who had married Marie Louise, daughter of the Austrian Emperor, lent his influence toward the attainment of the Hapsburg designs on the Balkan lands.

The Servians, realising by the campaign of 1809 that they could not entirely count upon Russia, made endeavours to approach Austria and Napoleon. Russia, understanding the serious blunder she had committed by neglecting the Serbs, sought means to reassure them and began to prepare to give them active military support in their coming campaign.

The National Assembly met in its annual session in 1809, at Christmas, in Belgrade, where the Senate had its seat. The opposition party headed by Jacob Nenadovich called the Government to account for the catastrophe of Nish, and the President of the Senate and the commander of the third division, Miloye Petrovich, both belonging to the Kara-

Belgrade fortress

George party, were bitterly blamed for the tragedy of Kamenitza. Nenadovich, with a following of six hundred members of the National Assembly, was in a majority. Kara-George, unable to defend the actions of his friend Mladen Milovanovich against the charges of weakness and inefficiency, took the course of proposing that the Assembly, which had the nomination of the Senate or Government, should re-elect the Senate with his enemy Nenadovich as its president. During the same session the Assembly resolved to ask the Russian headquarters in Vallachia for a more effective co-operation in the coming campaign of 1810.

Nenadovich, as President of the Senate, proposed to the Assembly to nominate men of his own party as envoys for that purpose. His nominations were confirmed and the mission despatched. Those envoys, on arriving in Vallachia, made it their private business in addition to the fulfilment of their mission to put forth the views of Nenadovich, and suggested that the Russians should ask the Servian Senate to appoint another commander-in-chief than Kara-George even if the choice should fall upon a Russian general.

The newly appointed Russian Commander, Count Kamensky, realising the situation at a glance, and ardently desirous for the effective co-operation of the Servian troops in the interest of the Russian war with Turkey, issued as answer on May 30, 1810, a proclamation to the Servians appealing to them as "brothers by faith, tongue, and blood," calling them to arms and promising complete Russian co-operation, re-

minding them that they must show a united front, and greeting Kara-George as the Supreme Servian Military Chief. That proclamation caused the party disputes in the Serb Senate and Assembly to subside.

In 1810, at the end of May, the Serb campaign in alliance with Russia began again. The first movement was to occupy the Kraina and come into junction with the Russians. Reinforced by the Russian troops, the Serbs took Negotin, Brza-Palanka, and laid siege to Kladovo.

The Turks meantime had concentrated a reorganised army to attack Servia from two sides at once—from Nish on the south and from Bosnia on the west.

From Nish, Kourshid Pasha advanced along the Morava with a corps thirty thousand strong, leaving before the fortifications of Deligrad only a small force and taking Kroushevatz. In order to oppose Kourshid Pasha, Kara-George who at this news had drafted all available troops from the Kraina, led them together with three thousand Russians southward to bar the further advance of Kourshid. The two armies met at "Varvarinsko Polye" (field of the Barbarians), near Kroushevatz, in a hard-fought battle. Kourshid was defeated with exceedingly great Turkish losses and forced to retreat at double-quick as far as Nish.

At the same time a Turkish army from Bosnia crossed the Drina and attacked the fortified position of the Serb troops under Anta Boghitchevich at Losnitza. With a small force, not more than five thousand strong, Boghitchevich held the Turkish

army of forty thousand men at bay during twenty days' constant assault, giving time to Kara-George to come to the rescue. Kara-George, after the victory of Varvarin, sent a small force only in pursuit of Kourshid Pasha and hurried across Servia to the relief of Losnitza with his main mass, in forced marches. By a strategic move he managed to arrive in the rear of the Turkish hosts, shutting them in between the two fires of his own army and that of the besieged intrenched camp of Boghitchevich. Notwithstanding the strength and numbers of the Turks, with whom were some of Napoleon's French troops with strong artillery, they were utterly defeated by the Servians and driven back into Bosnia, with Kara-George in pursuit.

There the Turkish commander sued for an armistice, which Kara-George accepted, stipulating that the Drina River should thenceforth be considered as the boundary between free Servia and Servian Bosnia still under Turkish rule.

Following Losnitza, Kara-George with his thirty thousand men, still accompanied by the three thousand Russian auxiliaries, made several successful expeditions in the southern part of Servia, after which the Russian contingent left the Serb army and rejoined their own headquarters in Bulgaria.

In the north-east, Kladovo, which had been long besieged by the Servians, at last fell, and in December, 1810, first the Russians in Bulgaria then the Servians in Servia signed an armistice with Turkey which ended the campaign.

At that moment free Servia included not only the

Pashalik of Belgrade, but in the east the districts of Kraina, Klyoutch, and Tzrna Reka formerly belonging to the Pashalik of Vidin; in the south-east the districts of Alexinatz and Banya from the Pashalik of Nish; in the south the large districts of Parachin and Kroushevatz of the Pashalik of Leskovatz; in the south-west the districts of Studenitza; and in the west the districts of Yadar and Radjevina of the Bosnian Pashalik of Zvornik, situated to the east of the river Drina. All these territories, afterward lost and again recovered, formed the extent of the Principality of Servia up to the year 1878.

In the year 1811 the armistice with the Turks, which was broken by the Russians who reopened their campaign in Bulgaria, was still maintained by the Servians. The Turks, being hard pressed by the Russians, offered peace and recognition to the Servians. Acting on the Sultan's orders, Kourshid, the Pasha of Nish, submitted to the Serb Senate and Kara-George the following proposal:

(1) Complete autonomy for Servia as included within the territory occupied by the Servian insurrectional troops. (2) A yearly fixed tribute to be paid by the Servian State to Turkey. (3) Turkey to recognise Kara-George as Prince of Servia with all prerogatives which had been conceded by the Sublime Porte to the Hospodars of Moldavia and Vallachia. (4) Turkey stipulated that the Turkish army in case of necessity should have the right of way through Servian territory.

The Senate and the National Assembly balked at this last condition. The Servian answer through

Kara-George was that the Serbs were not in a position to treat independently, being in alliance with Russia, but that they would accept the terms of a treaty arranged for them by St. Petersburg and Constantinople conjointly. The Servian refusal met with bitter resentment from the Turks which during the following year became sternly manifest.

In the Servian Parliament party strife became again active, and when the Assembly met in session, Christmas, 1811, the anti-Kara-George voyvods and delegates, including the President of the Senate himself, abstained from appearing. Kara-George, finding himself in an Assembly composed only of his own supporters, seized the opportunity, and called for a series of measures which entirely revolutionised the existing State organisation.

He demanded that the twelve counties should be subdivided into smaller districts; that instead of being grouped about their local chief they should depend entirely upon the central State authority; that the heads or chiefs of these smaller districts should not necessarily be chosen from among the local inhabitants, but should be appointed by the central Government and chosen from any district, being shuffled according to the necessities of the central Government; that the Senate should be abolished and the executive and administrative power vested in a State Council of six members, under the departments of War, Justice, Foreign Affairs, Education and Religion, Interior and Finance. In addition to this regulation was established a High

Court or Court of Appeals. The Assembly proceeded to nominate men to the different departments; three of them, Justice, Finance, and Education and Religion, were, at the suggestion of Kara-George, conferred upon three of the absent adversary members of the former Senate. They were Milenko Stoykovich, Petar Dobrnyatz, and Jacob Nenadovich, President of the abolished Senate. Kara-George was elected President of the Executive Council. It was further ordered that all persons who should fail to adhere to the new organisation and State Constitution or who should violate any of its laws should be considered as traitors to the country and banished

When the opposition on strike found that all of these measures had been passed and that resistance would be useless, especially as the War Office was in the hands of a friend of Kara-George, Mladen Milovanovich, they decided to make the best of a bad bargain. Nenadovich accepted the post to which he had been nominated by the new order of things; only Stoykovich and Dobrnyatz refused, and electing instead to fall under the ban laid upon all recalcitrants, they took the road of exile and passed beyond the borders into Austria.

At the beginning of 1812 when war between France and Russia became imminent, Russia concluded the treaty of Bucharest with Turkey on May 16, 1812. By the terms of that treaty Russia handed back to Turkey the two provinces, Vallachia and Moldavia, which during the war Russia had occupied. It was

further stipulated that the Sultan "of his own gracious free will" should bestow upon the Servians self-government within the borders of the territories they at that time held, and that this new autonomous Servia should pay to Turkey the taxes and dues in form of a yearly tribute. The Serbs were not fully satisfied by the terms of the peace of Bucharest, but being advised by Russia they sent envoys to ask that the Sublime Porte should fix the interpretation of that article concerning Servia.

Napoleon's progress in his campaign against Russia caused the Turks to think that they had been over-hasty in concluding peace with Russia, and when the Servian envoys arrived they were informed that Turkey's terms were the unconditional surrender of the Servians and a complete return to the status before the insurrection. The envoys were forced to carry home that ultimatum.

The news of Napoleon's disaster in Russia and his retreat to France moved the Turks to once more reopen diplomatic dealings with the Serbs. Acting under advice from St. Petersburg they accepted through their envoys at Nish, in January, 1813, the following interpretation of the treaty of Bucharest: that the fortress of Belgrade should be occupied by a Turkish Pasha with a limited garrison; that in case of war with other Powers the Turkish army should have the right to occupy all the fortified places, but that in time of peace those fortified places should be in Servian guard, the Serbs to have self-government and the right to carry arms. It appeared likely at first that the Sublime Porte would agree to that ar-

rangement, when suddenly news arrived that Napoleon had won a great victory at Lützen and had thereby retrieved in full all the prestige he had lost in his Russian campaign. The Sublime Porte at once, ignoring all treaty promises to Russia, ordered a new attack on Servia to be made from three sides simultaneously—from Vidin in the east, from Nish in the south, and from Bosnia in the west.

The National Assembly, in session at Christmas, 1812, had foreseen that the renewal of war would be inevitable, and had undertaken preparatory measures. It was evident that Servia had only herself to count upon; that no aid whatever would come to her from Europe. Gatherings for prayers took place in all the churches of the land. The Serb forces at that time were 53,000 strong with 150 cannon.

The army was told off in four divisions: the first, 7,000 men under Heydouk Velko, to oppose the Turkish advance from Vidin; the second division, 16,000 strong under command of Sima Markovich, to meet the Turkish attack from Bosnia; the third division of 18,000 to oppose the Turkish advance from Nish; and a fourth division under Kara-George, 12,000 strong, as reserves, was to be concentrated near Yagodina ready for use on any side.

In July a Turkish force of 18,000 crossed the Timok River on the east and obliged Heydouk Velko to retire to a fortified position near Negotin. From that position he carried on a succession of rapid attacks on the Turkish force, retiring each time, after harassing them, to his fortified position. In one

of these expeditions the Serb commander was killed. After his death his men, surrounded by a foe more than double their numbers, still managed to cut their way through the Turkish troops and rejoin the other forces in the interior.

On the west the Turks were able to capture Losnitza and Leshnitza, both on the Drina River.

In the south Kourshid Pasha with an army of 100,000 men advanced from Nish through the valley of the Morava.

The third Servian division, 18,000 strong, under Mladen Milovanovich, was unable to block Kourshid Pasha's onward march to the Danube—a movement which had been arranged by the Sultan in favour of Napoleon and as a demonstration against Austria.

In the west the Servian troops under Nenadovich, Tchoupich, and Milosh Obrenovich were able to halt the advance of the Turkish army from Bosnia, near Ravna, but after a continuous battle of seventeen days the Serbs were forced back toward Shabatz.

In the south the Servian troops, slowly retreating before Kourshid Pasha, crossed the Morava from its right bank to its left bank and intrenched themselves near Stalatch, where on the 19th of September arrived Kara-George with the reserves. Then occurred a strange happening. Without engaging in any action Kara-George abandoned the southern division to its fate. For no accountable reason he returned to Belgrade with the army reserves, and without pausing there a single day, he and most of his officers deserted and crossed the Danube into Austria, forsaking in its direst peril his country, for

whose liberty he had fought so valiantly. He and his companions were immediately arrested by the Austrian authorities and imprisoned.

The news of these fearful occurrences was staggering to the remaining officers and troops and spread despair among the people. Near Stalatch the resistance of the Serb forces was broken; something like a panic seized on all hearts. The ammunition and cannon were buried, the troops were disbanded and dispersed. Near Shabatz, on the west, the same course was followed by the troops. The whole land lay once again defenceless and crushed at the feet of the victorious Turk. The only Serb force which still held out for some days were the few thousand under Vouitza Voulich, who was intrenched near Deligrad. He and his men finally cut their way through the Turkish lines and went into the interior to their villages.

After the flight of the leaders who were with Kara-George and the ensuing general demoralisation, many prominent men and many of the people in terror of the revengeful Turk fled into Austria. Numbers perished in the Danube, being prevented from landing and beaten back down into the waters by the Austrian authorities and troops.

Milosh Obrenovich kept his head and remained among the people in Servia.

When Jacob Nenadovich asked him also to cross the Danube into Austria, he answered: "I stay with my own people; what happens to them will happen to me." He then returned to his home at Brusnitza, in the district of Rudnik, in October, 1813.

5. THE TURKS AGAIN MASTERS OF SERVIA DURING ONE YEAR

The Turks, on re-entering Servia toward the beginning of October, 1813, found the towns and villages deserted. The population had taken refuge in the mountains. The Grand Vizir Kourshid Pasha forbade his troops to molest the Serbs and invited the inhabitants to return to their homes. In order to hasten the pacification of the country the Turkish Grand Vizir treated with Milosh Obrenovich, offering to recognise him as head of the Serb nation and chief administrator of Rudnik Nahia. Milosh Obrenovich decided to accept the Turkish offer and undertook to aid in the pacification of the country.

When the Serbs had once more returned to their villages the Grand Vizir returned to Constantinople, leaving as Pasha of Belgrade Suleiman Pasha Scopliac, who hitherto had been one of the commanders of the Bosnian Turkish troops warring against the Servians. The new Pasha confirmed Milosh as Oborknez of the Nahias of Rudnik, Pozhega, and Kragouyevatz, comprising the whole mountainous district in central Servia—the Shumadia.

However, friendship between Turk and Serb was not possible. Not only the Turkish "Spahis," or Turkish feudal landowners, but also all the Turks who had formerly lived in Servia returned to their prey and made claims not only to alleged property, but to compensation for what they claimed to have

lost during the insurrection; also, many Turks sought out their enemies of former days and wrought "justice" on them. The conditions filled the land with violence and murder. The great numbers of Turkish troops overrunning the country and garrisoned in all the towns and fortified places lived on the land exactly as they had before the first insurrection. Excess taxes were collected from the people in claim of arrears. The inhabitants were stripped of every possession great and small, being even bereft finally of bare food, so that in 1814 a famine spread over the land. Starving, and goaded under unbearable provocations, the Servians began to prepare as best they could to again rise in insurrection. Such were the conditions when in October, 1814, a quarrel between some Turks and Hadji-Prodan, a Serb of Senitza, at the Monastery of Trnava, near Chatchak, was the match that set fire to a new conflagration. Soon the Nahias of Kragouyevatz and Pozhega were thoroughly roused. Hadji-Prodan called on Milosh Obrenovich to head the insurrection, but Milosh saw that the right time had not come for the rising and advised Prodan to be patient and not encourage demonstrations that would provoke Turkish reprisals. Milosh then made to the Turkish Pasha an offer to himself pacify the population. When Turkish troops were directed against the disorders, Milosh, with some Servians of his own, joined the Turkish expedition, hoping by that means to protect the people from the excesses of the Ottoman soldiery. In violation of Suleiman Pasha's promise of free pardon to all the rebels except to their leader,

Prodan, the Turkish Second-in-Command, Ipshir Pasha, arrested about one hundred and fifty of the more important Servians and brought them in chains to Belgrade. There on November 23, 1814, they were executed. Thirty-six, with the Abbot of the Monastery of Trnava were nailed to the wheel. The Turks expected by those acts to terrorise the population and entirely crush the Servian spirit.

As the rising of Hadji-Prodan had proved that the Serbs were still in possession of arms, orders were given for a complete disarmament of the Serb people. The search for arms in the houses of the Serbs was accompanied by the most fearful acts of violence and indescribable tortures on the part of the Turks. Many of the Serb notables were assassinated.

The situation became dangerous even in the eyes of the Turks, and Suleiman Pasha called to Belgrade all the leaders and chiefs of the people and warned them in a speech against any further attempt to rise, ordering them to return to their districts, to collect the taxes for which they were asked, and to bring them to Belgrade themselves. Milosh Obrenovich was among those thus enjoined, but the Pasha kept him back at Belgrade instead of allowing him to return home with the others.

The chief men of the Servians who had come at the call of the Pasha to Belgrade seized the occasion to resolve themselves into a secret National Assembly at Rudovitza, where they decided to rise up in a new insurrection and to call upon Milosh to lead them.

Meantime Milosh, who was under strict surveillance at Belgrade, tried to find a way of escape. Fortu-

nately the way presented itself in the cupidity of Ipshir Pasha, who had during the disarmament accumulated an enormous mass of loot as well as a number of prisoners. Milosh offered to ransom the prisoners and pay a sum of money to buy back the least valuable part of the loot. The bargain was sealed, Milosh declaring that he could only obtain the funds by going home to collect them personally and fetch them to Belgrade. At the request of Ipshir, Suleiman gave leave to Milosh to return for that purpose to his home at Tzrnutje in the Nahia of Rudnik.

6. FINAL SUCCESSFUL RISING. SERVIA FREE

Even before the beginning of Holy Week there was hand-to-hand fighting between the inhabitants of Rudnik and the Turks. One of the Serb headmen was assassinated by some Turks, and in the passion of the moment the entire population rose and cleared the enemy out of the village and the whole Nahia.

On Palm Sunday, 1815, after sacred service in the church of Takovo, where the people were assembled in the expectation of reaching a decision in regard to a new rising, the following scene took place. Vassa Petrovich who was present told it to M. Militchevich, and he recorded it in 1865 in the periodical *Vila:*

"I was a young boy and had gone to church on Palm Sunday to take Holy Communion. Great crowds of people had come to the Sabor. The service was conducted by Pope Paul of Takovo. After the communion I saw Gospodar

Milosh in his tent, where he was with his wife Lyoubitza, his brother Yovan and his wife Kruna, Nicola Lounyevitza,[1] Lazar Moutan, Miltchich Drintchich, a certain Damyan Krtza, and many others unknown to me—all with their families—probably so that the Turks should not think anything unusual was going on.

"The citadel of Rudnik was only three or four hours away. A Turkish garrison was there; they had sent one of their police to watch the Sabor; he was a Serb from Maidan, and he never returned again to Rudnik, but stayed with his brothers.

"When the sacred service was over, the people all went outside of the church and kept gazing at Milosh. They were all saying to one another: 'If he does not accept, nothing will be done! We will only quarrel, and the Turks will get the best of us!' Milosh accepted, to be the first among his brothers who were to go through fire and water. At last he stood on a rock before the church, his face glowing with feeling, his eyes very bright. He did not say much. He told them that it would be a heavy undertaking, and that he feared they would break down. But when they answered him in one voice: 'We know that! We are ready for anything! Dost thou not see that we perish as it is?' then he spoke out and said: 'Here am I, there stand you, so be it! War to the Turks! With us is God and His Right!'"

Close by the church was the oak of Takova which Servians hold dear; under its shade was the stone on which Milosh stood. On the same day he sent out proclamations to the entire Serb people of the Pashalik of Belgrade calling them to arms, and ordered that bands should be formed in every village and district and the Turks attacked wherever found.

On all sides from hiding-places in rocky caves and

[1] He was the great-grandfather of Queen Draga.

underground caverns came forth arms, and wherever attack from the Turkish forces was to be expected fortifications and trenches appeared.

When news of the rising reached Belgrade, Ipshir Pasha, the second in command of the Pashalik, started with a force ten thousand strong to concentrate at Tchatchak, on the western Morava, with the intention of quelling the Servian rising by a series of expeditions, using that place as centre.

Milosh Obrenovich hastened to the Morava at Tchatchak to meet the Turkish troops, and intrenched himself on the left river bank on the ridge of Lyoubitch, opposite the Turkish encampment. Ipshir Pasha, not being fully organised and in need of reinforcements, hesitated to attack the Servian position. Milosh put to profit the Turkish delay. Leaving the main mass of his Servians in the intrenchments on the ridge of Lyoubitch, he took a few hundred men and marched north to Palezh, a town to-day called Obrenovatz in remembrance of Milosh. At the news of Milosh's approach the Turkish garrison of Palezh attempted to take flight, but was overtaken by the Servians and crushed. In addition to other booty, of arms and ammunition, Milosh captured on that occasion two cannons, his first artillery. The news of that success spread rapidly through the country and also across the Danube into Austria. Many of the former leaders in the first insurrection under Kara-George who were in Syrmia and the Bannat, hearing again the sound of the Servian guns, hastened to follow the call, and returning to Servia to their native districts, roused

the people and helped to raise and organise anew a Servian army.

After the fight at Palezh, Milosh marched across Valyevo, ridding his path of Turks, and with a new army well equipped, possessing artillery, high in hopes and inspired with new courage and enthusiastic faith, returned to his position near Lyoubich to face the enemy. Ipshir Pasha meanwhile had also received his reinforcements and began an attack on the Servian intrenchments. After many successive assaults lasting several days, in which his troops were in each case repulsed with heavy losses, Ipshir Pasha finally abandoned the attempt against the Serbs at that point and fell back toward Sienitza. Milosh followed, overtook him, and after a day's battle utterly routed the retreating Turkish forces. All of the artillery, arms, and ammunition of Ipshir Pasha's force fell into the hands of the Servians.

At the news of that defeat the Turkish troops at Kragouyevatz and other places deserted their quarters, and the entire Shumadia district, the centre of modern Servia, found itself again freed from the Turks.

After his victory over Ipshir Pasha, Milosh Obrenovich marched north toward Posharevatz where another large Turkish force was strongly fortified. In a fierce onset, with great loss of life, the Servian troops stormed and took Posharevatz. That part of the Turkish garrison which surrendered was sent under guard to Tchoupria, on the border of the Belgrade Pashalik, where they were set free, retaining only their small-arms. All other arms, artillery, and am-

munition were retained by the Servian troops. At the same time another Servian column took Karanovatz, on the Morava (to-day called Kralyevo). After the capture of Posharevatz, Milosh marched west toward the Drina, where the advance guard of a Turkish army from Bosnia under the command of Ali Pasha Marashli of Nikshich had crossed into Servia. At Doublyia the two armies met in battle, resulting in a complete Turkish defeat. The Turkish commander and many of his officers and part of the Turkish troops were taken prisoners. Milosh and his Servians, to whom this large number of prisoners of war was an encumbrance, had them conducted across the river Drina into Turkish Bosnian territory and there set free.

After the fall of Napoleon, the European Powers met in Congress at Vienna, and the Servians sent envoys to lay their cause before that Assembly. At Vienna they found all doors closed to them except that of Russia. The Russian Emperor Alexander I listened to the Servian representations and sent instructions to his Ambassador at Constantinople to ask of the Sublime Porte why the conditions of the treaty of Bucharest concerning the Servians had not been observed and why many of its provisions in regard to them had been violated. The Russian note arrived in Stamboul at exactly the hour when two great Turkish armies (one from Roumelia under Marashli Ali Pasha, the other from Bosnia under Kourshid Pasha, who, in 1813, had subdued Servia and was now Vizir of Bosnia) were on the move to

again invade Servia. The effect of the Russian demand for explanation was the halting of both Turkish armies at the Servian border, with offers on the part of their commanders to treat with the Servians.

Then began a period of slow negotiations conducted by Milosh Obrenovich, which dragged wearily through fifteen years of efforts to obtain from the Porte recognition of Servian independence.

Both of the Turkish commanders under orders from the Sultan to treat with the Servians were anxious to acquit themselves of their task, but each had his own views as to how the pacification was to be accomplished. Marashli Ali Pasha believed in the power of persuasion and a yielding temper, Kourshid Pasha was intolerant and dictatorial. Milosh, by his keen tact and subtlety of dealing, was able to profit by the mutual antagonism of the two Pashas, and obtained finally from Marashli Ali Pasha terms which were in a measure acceptable, as they admitted the principle of self-government, but which were far from re-establishing the independent Servian State which had fallen in 1813. That splendid achievement of conquest and organisation had been swept away. All that Milosh had been able to obtain was local self-government within the frame of a Turkish Pashalik. Out of the ruins, however, of Kara-George's first insurrectionist State, there had survived one very real accomplishment, besides the proof to the Serbs themselves of their power to win their fight and to organise a State, and that was the article in the treaty of Bucharest by which Turkey

undertook to negotiate directly with the Servians, and the recognition and establishment of a Servian self-governing State under Ottoman suzerainty.

Milosh Obrenovich, after having concluded that arrangement with Marashli Ali Pasha, bent his aim upon obtaining from the Sultan an embodiment of those terms in a firman. He was supported in that endeavour by the Russian Ambassador in Constantinople who was then, in 1816, negotiating with the Sublime Porte for a revision of the treaty of Bucharest and a faithful execution of the articles of that treaty, including those relating to Servian interests. The Russians were not able to induce the Sultan to accord the desired Hatti-Shereef to the Serbs without enforcing that demand by war, and the matter was allowed to drag until 1820, when the Sublime Porte at last entered into negotiations with the Servian envoys. The result was a firman vague in expression and unsatisfactory. When the Turkish official who returned with the envoys to proclaim it arrived in Belgrade, Milosh Obrenovich and the Servian Assembly took the advice of Russia and refused to accept the terms of that firman, and demanded instead fulfilment of the Servian article of the treaty of Bucharest.

After some resistance the Sublime Porte consented to receive another Servian mission which went to Constantinople in October, 1820, with instructions to lay demands before the Ottoman Government for the Servian borders to be established as they were in 1813, with complete self-government and the recognition of the head of the Servian State as

Prince, the dignity to be hereditary in the family of Milosh.

In the midst of these negotiations the Greeks also rose in revolt against Turkey, demanding liberation. Relations between Russia and Turkey became strained, and the Sublime Porte, fearing Servian co-operation with the Greeks, threw the Servian envoys into prison as hostages.

The Greeks and their revolutionary society, the Ethnike Hetaira, founded in 1814, had already endeavoured to win Milosh to work in support of their cause, but he, considering their resources insufficient and their plans unripe, had refused to compromise the slow and steady progress toward the achievement of Servian liberty by any wild or uncertain adventure. Further, his prudence was in harmony with the general Servian mistrust of the Greeks and their unpopularity in the country, based on the misery to which the Greek Phanariote Bishops had subjected the Servian people since the abolition of the Servian Patriarchat. The promulgation of the Greek cause by Kara-George, who returned to Servia in 1817 and urged a Serb rising to be simultaneous with a Greek revolt, had so alarmed the Serbs for the fate of their hard-won liberty and the recognition which they were by difficult degrees obtaining from Turkey, that their once beloved first liberator now appeared to them as a harbinger of ill.[1]

[1] Kara-George had come back to Servia as the agent of the Greek revolutionary society, the Ethnike Hetaira. Crossing the bows of Milosh's perilous negotiations with the Porte, he had attempted, at a time when the preservation of peace was imperative, to raise the Serbs in revolt in favour

The outbreak of war between Russia and Turkey in 1821 was prevented by the efforts of the other members of the Holy Alliance, more especially by the diplomacy of Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor. From that time until the end of 1825 the Great Powers were involved in a diplomatic imbroglio concerning the Greek question, and tried to intervene between Russia and Turkey. With the ascension of the Emperor Nicholas I to the Russian throne, in December of that year, Russian diplomacy, inspired by the hardy spirit of the Tsar, took the stand that there were questions which concerned Russia and Turkey alone, questions especially proceeding from the unfulfilled articles in the treaty of Bucharest. In March, 1826, the Russian chargé d'affaires at Constantinople submitted to the Porte an ultimatum which exacted the execution of the guarantees promised to the Danubian principalities, Vallachia and Moldavia, and the regulation of the Servian question, and announced that within six weeks representatives of Turkey would be expected to meet those of Russia at the Russian border to come to a definite arrangement on the points named.

Turkey was at that time in the midst of a period of army reforms. The Janissaries had been suppressed by the sword, a new army had been organised by European officers, foremost among whom

of a proposed Greek rising. In consequence of that attempt, the success of which would have been fatal to the Servian position, Kara-George lost his life. He was killed by a Servian on July 13, 1817, it is said by order of Milosh Obrenovich.

was the young Captain von Moltke, who later was the maker of the military victories which allowed Bismarck to "hammer together" the modern German Empire "out of iron and blood."

The Greeks were in revolt, and in Bosnia an oligarchy of the old Serb Moslem nobles ruled the land and had been since 1816 in continual strife with Constantinople. The weakness of Turkey alarmed the Western Powers, who put pressure upon Turkey to submit to the Russian demands rather than provoke war. After lengthy negotiations at Ackerman between Russia and Turkey, an agreement was signed in October, 1826. By its terms Turkey recognised the Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Vallachia, and Servia, all three of which remained vassals of the Sultan. The convention also contained a clearly defined interpretation of Article VIII of the Bucharest treaty, concerning the Servian State; further, by the same document and a special act attached to it, the Sublime Porte undertook to confirm to Servia within a year and a half all rights and guarantees demanded by the Servian envoys then in Constantinople. The Porte agreed, in principle, to recognise an autonomous Servian State with the boundaries of 1813, under Ottoman suzerainty, with the right to elect its own ruling Prince.

The Serbs received with great satisfaction the notification from St. Petersburg of the treaty of Ackerman and the terms obtained by Milosh, to whose statesmanship, as they recognised, the success was due. In gratitude they elected him hereditary Prince Ruler of Servia.

The fulfilment of these favourable conditions was interrupted some months later by the request of England and the subsequent demand under threat of arms made by England, France, and Russia that the Sublime Porte should settle forthwith the Greek question. The Sultan began to ignore the terms of Ackerman, a purely Russo-Turkish arrangement, and the Servian situation was once more in suspense.

In pursuance of the diplomatic principle advanced by Emperor Nicholas, of the non-interference of Europe so far as possible in Russo-Turkish relations, Russia followed a policy which resulted in the outbreak in 1828 of a new Russo-Turkish war. Servia's position was delicate. Fortunately at the beginning of the campaign Tsar Nicholas proclaimed that, abiding by the principle of the legitimacy of recognised governments, upon which the Holy Alliance was based, he would refrain during the war from stirring up insurrections against the Sultan in Turkish lands. That proclamation left Servia neutral. The Russo-Turkish war ended after a complete Ottoman defeat with the treaty of Adrianople in September, 1829. Turkey undertook to execute the convention of Ackerman concerning the Serbs and to evacuate all those points in Servian territory within the boundaries of 1813 which had not yet been delivered over to Prince Milosh. As a matter of fact, the Sublime Porte postponed for several years the execution of these undertakings. In January, 1830, the Sultan sent a firman to Belgrade announcing that a Hatti-Shereef embodying the terms

of the convention of Ackerman and the treaty of Adrianople would be negotiated at Constantinople and proclaimed to the Serbs. Any provision for making the position of elected Prince hereditary was, however, omitted, an omission which left open continual opportunities for outside interference in Servian affairs. Milosh set quietly to work, before the Hatti-Shereef which was being negotiated was ready, to obtain from the Porte a Berat making the dignity of Prince hereditary in his own family. The Berat was issued to him, and that achievement of the object of his desire astonished Europe.

Finally, on November 30, 1830, the Hatti-Shereef which had been worked out by the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople and the Sublime Porte was proclaimed to the Serbs at Belgrade. Servia then became a self-governing principality under Ottoman suzerainty, and the special Berat confirming the hereditary rights to Prince Milosh was at the same time officially proclaimed.

The Turks did not in reality evacuate the districts in Servia which they still occupied. Prince Milosh realised that the evacuation of those districts would be indefinitely delayed and decided to stimulate the normal course of events. Profiting by the serious troubles of Turkey with Mehemet Ali Pasha of Egypt, he encouraged disorders in those districts of Servia still in Turkish possession, then, under pretext of imposing order, he entered and occupied the disturbed regions with Servian troops. The Porte recognised that accomplished fact in May, 1833.

In Bosnia the Serb-Mohammedans had been in open revolt since 1826 against the Sublime Porte. In July, 1831, the Bosnian insurgents defeated a regular Turkish army on Kossovo Plains, but the following year the Sultan succeeded in mastering the rising. Some years later a new revolt occurred, which with periods of progress and pause endured for fifteen years. The long struggle resulted in the breaking up of the old Servian Moslem nobility and the loss of their rights of self-government.

7. SERVIAN PEOPLE FROM 1830 TO 1859. SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO AS PRINCIPALITIES

In Servia with the Hatti-Shereef of 1830, providing for the final evacuation of the Servian territory by the Turks and the settlement of outstanding Serbo-Turkish questions, the relations between the two States were clearly defined. From that date the Servians were able to turn their chief attention to interior organisation and the establishment of the regular institutions of a civilised State.

In the midst of the struggles for liberation they had managed to set up seventy-two public schools, half of which were kept up by the State and the other half by the local bodies. They possessed one college, one military school, and one seminary for the education of Orthodox Priests. There was also already in existence a State printing press and an official gazette or newspaper which was a literary as well as a political medium. A number of books in Servian had already been issued by this press.

The Episcopal Sees were no longer in the hands of Greeks, but were held by Servian Bishops under a Serb Metropolitan in the new Servian State.

A codex of laws had been prepared and proclaimed.

The people were anxious to lay the basis of liberal institutions from the beginning. The Serbs have been quoted by a Servian statesman as saying: "We have won our liberties from the Turks, let us now take care to safeguard them among ourselves." The first aim was to frame a constitution that would sufficiently limit the personal power of the Chief Executive. Prince Milosh Obrenovich undertook to escape that limitation. In his opinion the infant State in its perilous beginnings required an absolute supreme leader as much as the people had required absolute military leadership on the fields of battle.

The party which stood for the limitation of the Prince's power was supported by Russian influence, which did not view with favour a strongly centralised and perhaps headstrong government in Servia.

Finally, on February 2, 1835, Prince Milosh, under pressure of manifest discontent in the country, consented to proclaim a constitution. That constitution, which was written by Demetrius Davidovich, was framed in a liberal and democratic spirit, safeguarding to the people many liberties, even ones which had not yet found their way into some more western European States. The proclamation of the Servian Constitution at once attracted the attention of Europe and was viewed somewhat in the light of a danger signal by those State systems which, like Austria with the Hapsburgs and their chancellor Metternich,

boldly asserted absolutism to be the only true method of government. Austria firmly protested against the establishment in Servia of any constitution at all. Russia and Turkey protested against the Servian Constitution, objecting that they as protecting Powers had not been consulted and that their assent to the proclamation should have been obtained. The result of the general protest was that the Servians were obliged to abrogate their Constitution.

The proposal of Russia was to create a Senate with large legislative and political attributes and so limit the ruler's powers. Prince Milosh read in that proposal a direct personal attack against himself; he was supported in that view by the British agent at Belgrade, who was working to further the views of Austria. As the general demand for guarantees of popular liberties became acute in Servia, a Servian mission was invited to come to Constantinople to work out a constitution in conjunction with the Russian Ambassador and the Sublime Porte. British intrigues supported Austrian designs and opposed the Russo-Turkish plan, but in April, 1838, Prince Milosh was prevailed upon to despatch the envoys to Stamboul. An effort was made by British diplomacy to bring about the acceptance of a formula which would practically annul any limitation of the Servian Prince's personal authority. The Russian views, however, won the ascendant and resulted in a Hatti-Shereef concerning the interior organisation of Servia. That decree established a Senate with extended political and legislative powers and whose members were elected for life.

Prince Milosh, who had relied upon the support of England in resisting a constitution and demanding absolute authority, found himself faced by an expression of the will of the people in the election of a Senate most of whose members were hostile to himself.

Some months later Milosh, not being able to carry out his policy, came into open conflict with the Senate, abdicated in favour of his son Milan, and retired to his estates in Vallachia.

The new young ruler was ill, at death's door, and during the few remaining weeks of his life he was represented by a regency composed of the Senators Voutchich, Petroniyevich, and Yevrem Obrenovich, brother of old Prince Milosh.

On his death Prince Milan was succeeded by his younger brother Michael, who was then living with their father, old Prince Milosh, in Vallachia. Michael, in answer to an invitation of the Sultan, went first to Constantinople and thence to Servia. The Sultan, seizing that opportunity to insert an interfering finger into Servian affairs, issued a firman confirming Michael in his dignity of Servian Prince and nominating two councillors who should have the right to approve the young ruler's acts. The Sultan named to those posts the two Senators and former Regents, Voutchich and Petroniyevich.

These arrangements did not meet with favour from the Serbs and were not of happy augury for the new reign. Contests soon arose between Prince Michael and his two councillors, who called themselves defenders of the Constitution. Michael also

came into conflict with the Senate, where his councillors led the opposition. During these struggles the constitutionalists, fearing that the fray might bring back old Milosh Obrenovich, began to think of putting a son of Kara-George on the throne.

However, Prince Michael showed unexpected capacity and was able to prevail over his recalcitrant councillors, who, in spite of the strong support brought to bear by Turkey on their behalf, were banished from Servia. Political conditions were unsettled, and many persons mistrusting the youth of the ruler were for calling back old Milosh. In the midst of that uncertainty Prince Michael, acting on the advice of Russia, pardoned Voutchich and allowed him to re-enter the country. The old councillor, however, at once upon his return began to work against the ruler, and succeeded in arousing several districts to revolt.

Prince Michael then abdicated. Voutchich, who was the master of the situation, convened a National Assembly which on September, 1842, elected Alexander Karageorgevich (father of the present King) as ruling Prince. Alexander was at that time an A.D.C. to Prince Michael. The Sultan issued a firman of confirmation to the new ruler, approving the coup-d'etat, which, in fact, had been due to Turkish intrigues. That firman, however, very skilfully eliminated the point of making the dignity of Servian ruling Prince hereditary. Russia protested against the election as having been brought about under pressure, and on June 15, 1843, a new election took place by the Servian National Assembly con-

firming Alexander Karageorgevich as ruling Prince. Austria had supported Turkey in these manœuvres, and throughout the entire reign of Alexander Karageorgevich he ruled under the tutelage of Turkey and Austria. From that time also the dynastic struggles between the Karageorgevich and the Obrenovich were identified with party programmes and political strife in regard to both interior and foreign policies.

The Turko-Austrian dictation to which Prince Alexander submitted throughout his whole reign was not in the best interests of the Servian State and did not command popular sympathy. In regard to interior affairs the Prince was in the hands of an oligarchy who ruled the nation in an absolute manner where constitutionalism found no part, the National Assembly not being convoked even once within the reign.

During that epoch, which saw the creation of a new Servian State, the Serbs in the Hapsburg Monarchy, in Hungary and in Croatia, had continued their fight for national existence. During the great revolutionary outbreaks in 1848 throughout Europe, which, especially in the Hapsburg lands, represented a reaction against the principles of absolutism, the Serbs in Hungary proclaimed their freedom at a National Congress held at Karlovitz, and organised under a provisional government the Servian Voyvodina as an administrative entity separate from Hungary. They also proclaimed the Servian Patriarchat of Karlovitz. The Vienna Court at first

opposed the separate Servian creation, but very shortly, when the conflict between the Hapsburgs and Hungary became an armed revolution, the Vienna statesmen resorted to their old tactics of using the military strength of the Servians, and returned also to the same old methods which had so often before been employed to attain that purpose. The Emperor Francis Joseph (the present Hapsburg ruler) sanctioned the resolutions passed by the Servian Congress at Karlovitz and erected the Servian Voyvodina, recognising at the same time the Servian Metropolitan as Patriarch.

From the beginning of the hostilities between the Serbs and the Magyars in Hungary many Servians from the Principality crossed the Danube to aid their brethren in the fight. The two deposed Serb rulers, old Milosh Obrenovich and his son Michael were in the Voyvodina, and Prince Alexander Karageorgevich, fearing their influence, forbade Servians to pass from the Principality to the aid of the Voyvodina. Soon the fortunes of war turned against Austria, and Prince Alexander Karageorgevich had to grant the request of the Vienna Court to allow Serb volunteers to cross the Danube. The Servian General, Knitchanin, led then a corps of twelve thousand Serbs from the Principality against the Hungarians.

In 1849 the revolutionary outbreaks in various parts of Europe had been mastered and were giving place to movements in the opposite sense, swinging back toward absolutism and bureaucratic notions. The Hapsburg Monarchy was more strongly central-

ised than ever under the famous Germanising system of the Chancellor Bach. The Serbs of the Voyvodina again, as of old, found themselves the dupes of the Vienna Court.

Montenegrin borders had first come into contact with Austria, when the Dalmatian littoral by the treaty of Campo Formio, in 1797, had fallen into the hands of the Hapsburgs. The battle of Austerlitz, in 1805, gave the same territory to Napoleon, who formed it into his "Illyrian Kingdom." The Bocche di Cattaro, which in earlier times had formed part of Zeta, was taken back again from Austria by Montenegro and held until 1807, when, in execution of the treaty of Tilsit, the Russian Emperor asked the Montenegrins to surrender both Cattaro and Novi to the French. In 1813 Montenegro retook possession of her littoral. Russia again, in pursuance of some great plans and theories of her own, which events since then have failed to justify, induced Montenegro to once more yield up Cattaro, this time to Austria.

The Bishop of Montenegro, Peter II Petrovich-Nyegoush (1830–51), soon after his installation clashed with the civil authority in the person of the Goubernador Vouk Radonich. This conflict did not escape the attention of the Vienna Court which further embarrassed the position of the Goubernador (the title of the Montenegrin Chief Executive) by tendering him Austrian support. That action made it possible for the Bishop to accuse Vouk Radonich of connivance with the Austrian designs on Monte-

negro. Radonich was arrested and condemned to death as a traitor. The Bishop at the same time seized the civil authority, adding it to the spiritual authority which he exercised as Bishop, after which he pardoned Radonich, exiling him, and retained for himself the spoils of the coup-d'etat, which put him in possession of the supreme power in the State.

In the years 1834, 1836, 1839, 1840, and 1849 Montenegro was obliged to beat back successive Turkish onslaughts, and those campaigns form pages of glorious triumph for the Servians of the Black Mountains. In 1849 Bishop Peter helped Austria, against the will of the people, to quell a Servian insurrection in the Bocche di Cattaro, and ceded to Austria the two strongholds of Stanyevich and Podmorina.

After the death of Bishop Peter II, his nephew Danilo Petrovich-Nyegoush proclaimed himself Prince of Montenegro and the Brdas, dispersed the Assembly, abolished local liberties by force, and became the absolute ruler of the land. Both Russia and Austria recognised him as a sovereign (1851). The civil war, which ensued in Montenegro, was put to profit by Turkey, who in 1852 sent an army against the new Principality. Russia and Turkey were then in the throes of the difficulties which resulted in the Crimean war, requiring the presence of all the Turkish forces within call of Constantinople, and Austria profited by the occasion to intervene on behalf of Montenegro which brought the Turco-Montenegrin campaign to an end.

In Palestine a three-cornered strife arose over the guardianship of the Holy places, which grew out of the pretensions of Roman Catholics protected by France and the counter-claims of the Orthodox-Christians under the protectorate of Russia. These troubles provided the immediate incidents leading to the Turco-Russian war of 1853.

That war placed Servia in a perilous position. On the one hand, as vassal State of Turkey she was obliged, if called upon, to take part in a war against Turkey's adversaries. On the other hand, since the convention of Ackerman and the treaty of Adrianople, Servia had been under the protection of Russia, who had also a right to expect the aid of Servian auxiliaries.

The immediate occupation of the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Vallachia by Russian troops brought forth an ultimatum by France and England, who then entered the campaign as allies of Turkey. Austria mobilised her troops along the Russian and Servian borders, and obtained authorisation, by a convention signed with the Sublime Porte, to occupy Moldavia and Vallachia, a move calculated to prevent Russia from using those Principalities and Servia as bases of operations. Austria, whose hostility to Russia did not, however, make her support the allies of Turkey, maintained somewhat the position of a free-lance ready to lay hold of whatever advantage might arise on either side.

The inhabitants of the two Principalities of Servia and Montenegro and the Serb lands under Turkey demonstrated their sympathy with Russia. Those

manifestations of readiness to help the foe of Turkey were echoed by the Slavs under Austria. England, as ally of Turkey, induced the Sultan to proclaim a firman declaring that the liberties of the Servian State would never be interfered with but would always be protected by Turkey. With a like realisation of the danger to be feared from Austria, Russia advised the Servian Principality to remain neutral.

With the Austrian occupation of Moldavia and Vallachia, which was evacuated by the Russians, the theatre of war was removed from the Balkans to the Caucasus and the Crimean Peninsula, where it ended with the renowned siege of Sevastopol which was taken by the French, English, and Sardinian troops in September, 1855.

Then came the treaty of Paris, 1856, which placed the Principalities of Servia, Moldavia, and Vallachia under the collective guarantee of all the Powers signatory to that treaty. Without the consent of those Powers no troops were to be sent by Turkey or any other Power into those Principalities or across their territory.

With that guarantee the existence of Servia as a State received international recognition.

In accordance with Article IX of the treaty of Paris the Sultan issued the Hatti-Shereef "Houmayoun," promising reform to the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire.

Encouraged by the fact that three European Powers had fought for the Sultan and won his

victories for him against Russia, a new Turkish campaign was undertaken with the object of conquering Montenegro and subduing the independent Servian clans of Herzegovina.

The Ottoman army met the allied Montenegrins and Herzegovinians in battle at Grahovo on Ascension Day, 1858, and was entirely annihilated. Montenegro annexed the district of Grahovo, and the Herzegovinians retained their ancient right of self-government.

On August 12, 1860, Prince Danilo was assassinated at Cattaro by unknown persons, and was succeeded by his nephew Prince Nicola, the present ruler of Montenegro. Encouraged by the unsettled conditions which followed the murder of Danilo and the change of rulers, Turkey renewed the campaign in 1862, but gained no important success. The Sultan after another year of fighting was only able to obtain, in 1863, a sort of assertion of authority over the Herzegovinian clans.

Since 1842 Servia had been ruled by the oligarchy which had set Alexander Karageorgevich on the throne. Those rulers of the ruler were continually wrangling with him and among themselves, and at all such times provided the Sublime Porte with an opportunity of intervening in the interior affairs of the Servian State.

The authority of the Prince, which had never been strong, was entirely annulled by a law enacted in May, 1858, regulating the power of the Senate.

When Alexander lost the support of Voutchich and Garashanin, the leaders of the two chief parties in the Senate, he was bereft as well of all hold in the country. Dissensions among the oligarchs, the ruler's personal powerlessness, and the weak submission of the Government to continual Austrian and Turkish interference and meddling in interior affairs caused bitter discontent with the administration. A movement voicing the general desire demanded the calling together of the National Assembly, which had not been convened during a period of ten years. Two of the oligarchs themselves joined in this demand for an Assembly, which they expected would depose the Prince and create a vacancy which one of themselves might be called upon to fill.

The convocation of the Assembly was opposed by Prince Alexander Karageorgevich, Austria, and Turkey, but it was found impossible to resist a demand which was general throughout the country, and the Assembly came together for its first meeting in November, 1858. A bill was at once presented impeaching the ruler for breaches of the Constitution and enjoining him to abdicate. His only answer was to take refuge in the fortress of Belgrade, placing himself under the protection of its Turkish commander.

Prince Alexander Karageorgevich was declared deposed and old Prince Milosh Obrenovich, "the old Lord," as the people called him, was re-elected Prince of Servia.

With that act the National Assembly asserted its authority and returned to its rightful place in the

State. The Assembly then passed laws regulating and making obligatory its own yearly sessions, and from that date began a parliamentary régime which destroyed the former autocratic powers of the Senate and of the oligarchs who had been upheld chiefly by foreign influence.

Turkey and Austria both opposed the election and the régime of Prince Milosh Obrenovich. Long exile had taught the old ruler much, and he who had renounced the throne rather than yield on the point of personal authority now bent all his efforts toward making the Constitution a workable instrument. The Sublime Porte threw every possible obstacle in the way of these attempts and of the evacuation of certain of the towns by Turks who had drifted back into the land during the reign of Alexander Karageorgevich.

Events in Italy began to change the general currents of European politics. In 1859 the war of Sardinia in which France took part against Austria in northern Italy resulted in complete Austrian defeat. Sardinia received Lombardy, and King Victor Emmanuel and his Minister Cavour, aided by Garibaldi and Mazzini, joined to Sardinia one by one all of the Italian States, bringing about the birth, in 1861, of a new great European Power, United Italy.

The complete Austrian defeat in Italy, with all the manifestations of military ill-will, disaffection, and political corruption which the circumstances of the campaign laid bare, brought about signal changes

in the interior situation of the Hapsburg realm. The Chancellor Bach and his system of overcentralisation and Germanisation fell to the ground, and the Emperor Francis Joseph endeavoured by means of the "October Diploma" of 1860 and the "Februar Patent" of 1861 to inaugurate a new and more liberal era in his Empire.

8. YOUNG SERVIAN MOVEMENT FOR UNIFICATION

In the Servian Principality old Prince Milosh died in September, 1860, and was succeeded by his son Michael. That Prince, during his exile, had come under the influence of the young Servian movement for unification represented by the "Omladina," its clubs and publications in the Servian Voyvodina in southern Hungary. Thrilled by the spectacle of Italian unification which was then in triumphal progress, the new Servian ruler framed his own policy with Servian unification as its object.

General conditions were favourable to his aims. Russia was then regaining the strength and prestige which she had lost in the Crimean war. Austria, since the Italian catastrophe, had been obliged to halt in her aggressive policy in the Balkans and to give her undivided attention to Germany, where Prussia, under Bismarck, began to contest with Austria for German hegemony. France was engaged in colonial expeditions; England was nearly exhausted after the Indian mutiny; and Turkey, without the support of her European pillars and in

A Servian field battery

the throes of interior troubles, contributed conditions which assured Prince Michael momentary freedom of action in the furtherance of his plans.

His reign ushered in a period of active cultural and political progress among the Serbs and enthusiastic faith in a national future. Those conditions arose not only in the Principality but in all Serb lands, especially in those under Hapsburg rule, where these aspirations were joined with a desire for liberty. The astonishing military successes of the Serbs in their defence against the Turks on the Montenegrin borders and in Herzegovina fortified the faith of the Servians in the destinies of their race, invoking the memories of its heroes and its past great achievements both civic and military.

Prince Michael in his interior policy relied upon the conservative elements of the country tending toward binding these forces together in a centralised Government.

The Sublime Porte was not long in perceiving Prince Michael's ultimate aim, and in all its dealings with him employed a system of procrastination. The Servian ruler foresaw the immanence of a conflict with the Sultan, and was anxious to make arrangements with Europe which would leave the issue to be fought out between Servia and Turkey alone without foreign intervention. He accordingly inquired of Russia and France, which were then drawing nearer together in sympathy, if in case of war with Turkey he could count upon the friendly moral support of those two countries, and in March, 1861, he received in answer the assurance that France

and Russia would pledge themselves to non-interference in such an eventuality.

Prince Michael entered at once upon his task of completing the emancipation of Servia from Turkish influence. In the summer of 1861 a bill which he had introduced for the reorganisation of the Senate was passed by Parliament. That bill destroyed the preponderance of the Senate and re-established the personal authority of the ruler. The Assembly also passed another bill put forward by Michael for the reorganisation of the national military forces. The Sublime Porte protested to the guaranteeing Powers against those measures but without result.

In all the Serb lands under Turkey, and in Bulgaria and Macedonia, the Servian Prince encouraged and supported agitation for liberation to the fullest extent of his ability. His efforts met with hearty response, embittering to the utmost the relations between Turk and Serb. On Sunday afternoon, June 3, 1862, some Turks of the garrison in the fortress of Belgrade chanced to quarrel with some Servians at the well called Tchourouk Tchesme, and a Serb was killed, which was the signal for the beginning of a hand-to-hand battle which raged through the night in Belgrade. The Servians succeeded in driving all the Turks back within the walls of the fortress. After a quasi-armistice of one day, the Turkish Commander of the Citadel bombarded the town of Belgrade on June 5. Prince Michael, in answer, immediately mobilised the Servian forces in readiness for the beginning of hostilities with Turkey. The Serbs everywhere were up in arms

and the whole European press protested against the Ottoman outrage. In order to forestall further complications the ambassadors of the signatory Powers of the treaty of Paris conferred with the Sublime Porte. In the course of those deliberations Servia was supported by Russia and France, while Turkey was upheld by England and Austria. The decision arrived at by the conference was that the Turkish population of Servia should emigrate and the Turkish garrisons be evacuated with the exceptions of the citadels of Belgrade, Shabatz, Smederevo, and Kladovo.

In October, 1862, that decision was communicated to Prince Michael by the Sultan, and the British Ambassador at Stamboul went to Belgrade to induce the Servian ruler to accept the decree.

The Polish insurrection in 1863 unfortunately estranged France from Russia, which was at that moment isolated from Europe. Servia was bereft of the help of both of these Powers. Meanwhile the British diplomatic agent at Belgrade induced Prince Michael to seek English friendship, but in reality there was no hope of winning any help from Great Britain, whose policy was entirely Turcophile and Austrophile, which indeed it has always been at heart in regard to Balkan politics, notwithstanding the personal sympathy vouchsafed by many Englishmen to the lesser Balkan States.

The year 1866 was portentous in the annals of Europe and the changes it wrought engrossed the attention of Servia's adversaries, giving Prince

Michael a further span of time for the favourable development of his plans. In the summer of that year Turkey was forced to struggle and without avail with an insurrection in Crete. Austria was defeated at Sadowa by Prussia, and forever cast out of the German Confederation, which Bismarck then began to mould into the modern German Empire. The Hapsburgs were driven out of Italy and back from Germany, both of which, being free, leapt at a bound, as it were, into great modern States. Following the Austrian defeat at Sadowa, Von Beust, former Saxon Minister and personal enemy of Bismarck, was invited to take up the Hapsburg Chancellorship by the Emperor Francis Joseph, with the design of regaining German hegemony with the help of an alliance with France against Prussia, a design which led directly to the Franco-German war in 1870–71, and its culmination—the proclamation of the German Empire in the palace of the French kings at Versailles. It must be remembered that in 1865–66, before Sadowa, Bismarck, in view of the Austro-Turkish friendship, had made to Prince Michael of Servia the same kind of proposal for concerted aggression against Austria which he had put before Italy, and which Italy had accepted, receiving Venice in guerdon. Unfortunately, Prince Michael with a less far-seeing vision allowed that occasion to slip for Servia. Chancellor Beust saw that for the success of any Austrian military undertakings against Prussia the friendly attitude of the Serbs was a first necessity. He advocated the abandonment by Austria of her Turcophile policy and urged

the adoption of an attitude which several years later led to an arrangement promising Austrian support to Servian aspirations and confirming Servia's rights to occupy and hold the Bosnian territory up to the river Vrbas.

A wave of Pan-Slavism or Pan-Russianism was at that time sweeping through Russia. In all the Serb lands the people were inspired by the hope of a united Greater Servia.

Prince Michael's insistence upon the Turkish evacuation of the Servian citadels, still garrisoned by the Sultan's troops, was rewarded with success and the Porte was brought to accept the final formulation invented by the British Ambassador that "the Sublime Porte intrusts the guardianship" of those places to Prince Michael. With the surrender of those fortresses the last Turkish soldier for the last time marched out of Servia, which then became the Christian centre of the Balkans.

In 1866 Prince Michael had concluded an alliance with Montenegro. In January, 1867, he arranged with the Bulgarian emigrant committees for the erection of a Bulgarian nation and State to be united with Servia. In September, 1867, he made an alliance with Greece, and opened negotiations for an alliance with the new-born Principality of Roumania, which had just created itself by the union of the Principalities of Moldavia and Vallachia, and whose new ruler, Carol of Hohenzollern (the present King of Roumania), had just been called from Prussia as the elected choice of the Roumanian people. Throughout the Serb lands everywhere, in

Bosnia, Herzegovina, Old Servia, Albania, Macedonia, the agents of Prince Michael were busy preparing the people for a popular rising to support Servian military action against Turkey. In Bosnia and Herzegovina he was assured the assistance of the old Serb-Mohammedan nobility, and the Serbs in Austria were actively united in sympathy with the movement.

In December, 1867, England, France, and Austria made representations to Prince Michael, warning him against the consequences of his endeavours and counselled him to desist from perfecting his armaments and to abandon the agitation for liberation. Russia, in February, 1868, advised Michael to arm and make Servia ready for war, but to be patient and refrain from beginning any hostility.

All of the plans for the completion of Servian freedom and the Servian ruler's work of preparation and organisation were brought to the dust by the assassination of Prince Michael in Topchider Park, near Belgrade, on June 11, 1868. That act was instigated by a foreign Power in the execution of a plot to annihilate the plans for Servian unity and to put the Servian State once more into the hands of the weak Alexander Karageorgevich.

In 1867 Austria concluded the arrangement with Hungary called the Ausgleich which separates the Hapsburg Monarchy into two separate interdependent States, Austria and Hungary. Hungary made an arrangement with Croatia-Slavonia, recognising certain rights of self-government as belonging to that

State, and a parliamentary system was introduced into both Austria and Hungary. The Servians in Austria-Hungary who, during the period of the constitutional struggle, had been the allies of the Magyars against Vienna in the demand for extended liberties, became, when once the victory was won, the object of persecution by the Magyars. The Servian Voyvodina had been absorbed into Hungary, a like fate had befallen the Servian Military Confines, and all the former guarantees of a free national development were lost. The new electoral laws of both Austria and Hungary and the polling regulations were framed so as to deprive all Slavs of fair representation in Parliament, and to fictitiously create in the Vienna House a predominance for the German minority and in the Hungarian Parliament a predominance for the Magyar minority.

9. SERVIA AND MONTENEGRO SOVEREIGN STATES. SERBO-MONTENEGRIN-TURKISH WAR, 1876–78

The plot to which was due the assassination of Prince Michael of Servia failed to accomplish its designs. With unforeseen rapidity before the plotters could complete their programme the Servian Cabinet at the capital proclaimed Michael's nephew, Milan Obrenovich, as ruler. The assassins were arrested and shot. During the minority of Prince Obrenovich the Chief Executive power was in the hands of a regency.

The regency was in no way able to continue the policy and the plans of Prince Michael but devoted

its attention to interior matters. One of the regents, Yovan Ristich, elaborated a constitution whereby the entire legislative power was taken away from the Senate and vested in the National Assembly. That constitution was in force for over twenty years.

Although the work of Prince Michael among the Serbs outside of the Principality had been abandoned the seed sown by him had none the less germinated and taken root.

The Orthodox Christian Slavs of the Balkans in general were dissatisfied with dependency upon the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople and sought means of emancipation in the erection of a Slavonic Exarchat which, while canonically derived from the Œcumenical Patriarch, would in reality be a purely Slavonic Church institution. Finally, in 1870, the efforts of the Servian Government, supported by Russia, were able to accomplish that achievement in the establishment of a Slavonic Exarchat at Constantinople. That institution became almost at once the rallying-point of the movement for the renascence of a Bulgarian nationality and was very soon the chief instrument of Bulgarian propaganda. Under the influence of Turkish intrigues, which seized every occasion to plant division between the different Slav groups in the Balkans, the Exarchat grew to represent wholly Bulgarian national aims and became more and more hostile to all Servian activity.

Servian foreign policy was given a new impetus when Prince Milan Obrenovich came of age in

August, 1872, and received the sovereign power from the hands of the regents.

In the beginning of 1875 a new insurrection broke out in Herzegovina.[1] The insurgents after their first successes against the Turkish troops were invited by the different consuls of the Powers to formulate their demands, which they did asking for local self-government. The Sublime Porte expressed a willingness to make certain concessions but refused to allow the chief stipulation which was supported by the three Emperors of Russia, Germany, and Austria, who demanded that the execution of the reforms should be placed under the protection of a European commission.

The insurrection which was aided by Servia and Montenegro continued to spread with gathering enthusiasm through Herzegovina and Bosnia. Public opinion in Servia pressed for an open military campaign to co-operate with the fight for freedom in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Prince Milan at first, in view of the international situation and the comparative weakness of Servian military resources, opposed any such undertaking as that urged not only by popular demand but strongly encouraged by Austria and Russia. At that juncture an English member of Parliament, Mr. Butler Johnstone, who had long sojourned at Constantinople, came to Belgrade fully empowered by the Sublime Porte to propose an arrangement between Prince Milan and the Sultan, by which the Servian ruler as the Vassal of Turkey was to be nominated as Turkish Gover-

[1] The present King of Servia was one of the leaders in that insurrection.

nor-General of Bosnia and Herzegovina and pacify those lands. This secret agreement was on the point of being concluded when news of the negotiations in some way leaked out and reached the ears of the Austro-Hungarian agent at Belgrade, who immediately protested sharply and declared that Austria would consider any further step in that direction as a casus belli. The Servian Prince was forced to submit to that ultimatum, and some weeks later, on June 20, Servia, in alliance with Montenegro, declared war on Turkey. Volunteers from Russia streamed into the Servian ranks and the chief command of the army was placed in the hands of a Russian, General Tchernayeff. The Serbs had promises of sympathetic risings in Bulgaria, and the co-operation of Roumania and Greece. But those promises never materialised into fact, and the whole weight of the Ottoman military forces was concentrated against Servia and Montenegro. The campaigns of both Principalities against Turkey began during the first days of July. Unfortunately, there was lack of co-ordination between the Servian and Montenegrin plans, and the occupation by the Montenegrins of the plateau of Gatzko on July 11, the march on Mostar, and the great victory at Voutchidol over the Turks on July 28, were successes of a tactical nature without any strategical importance or value to the Servian aim. The Serb army, under Tchernayeff, crossed the borders on the Morava River, stormed and seized the Ottoman fortified camp at Babina Glava, but was stopped in its progress by stout Turkish resistance at Ak-

Palanka. A diversion under Osman Pasha from Vidin toward Zaiyetchar and Knyazhevatz, menacing the Serb left flank, broke the offensive movement of the Servian army, which under the further pressure of the main forces of the Turkish army advancing from the south under the Ottoman Commander-in-Chief Abd-ul-Kerim, was obliged to concentrate in the rear toward the Servian border, where, near Alexinatz, on September 1, the Serbs were forced to accept battle which resulted in advantage to the Turks A truce of ten days followed. At the end of that time the fighting continued in the same positions. The Serbs refused to yield in spite of repeated unsuccessful engagements, and it was only in the middle of October that the entire Ottoman forces were able finally to dislodge the Servians from their positions near Alexinatz. Russia then intervened with an ultimatum to Turkey which compelled the Sublime Porte to cease hostilities and conclude an armistice with Servia on November 2, 1876. At that moment Europe was horror-stricken by the Bulgarian massacres which occurred in the same month. On December 11 representatives of the Great Powers, Russia, England, Germany, France, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, met in conference at Constantinople. The demands presented by the Powers to the Sublime Porte were an extension of borders for Servia and Montenegro, self-government for Bosnia, and Herzegovina, and the same for Danubian Bulgaria. Each of the new self-governing provinces were to be placed under a Governor appointed by the Sultan with the assent

of the Great Powers for a term of five years. The remaining part of the Balkan territory was to be the object of reform and reorganisation. The ingenious answer to these sweeping demands of Europe was the immediate proclamation by the Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid of a Turkish constitution guaranteeing full liberties, after the most modern and approved European pattern, to all the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire. The members of the conference found the cup not to their taste, but were obliged to accept it to a certain extent and modify their exactions to demands for self-government for Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria. Abd-ul-Hamid refused to accede even to those demands, the conference came to naught, and war between Russia and Turkey was recognised as inevitable. At the last moment England, in line with Austria, intervened with Prince Milan and the Porte and brought about a treaty of peace between Turkey and Servia, signed on March 1, 1877. In that instance Servia was ill-advised. On April 16 the Russian Government signed with Roumania a convention of alliance, and on April 24 declared war on Turkey. On June 26 the Russian troops passed the Danube, near Sistova, and entered Bulgaria, and by July 20 the flying cavalry of General Gourko had already crossed the Balkans on the road to Adrianople. Then came the historic and heroic fights of Plevna, the battles of the Green Hills, the storming of the Grivitza redoubts by the Russian and Roumanian troops, the fierce contests for the Shipka pass, and, finally, the surrender of Osman Pasha and his for-

tified camp of Plevna. The Servians had begun again their war with Turkey and took Nish, Mitrovitza, and the old Servian capital of Prisren. Under the threat of an invasion by Austria, Servia was forbidden to extend her operations into Bosnia.

From Plevna the Russian army advanced southward across the Balkan summits, on January 20 entered Adrianople, and before the middle of February stood before Constantinople, whose suburb of San Stephano became the headquarters of the Grand Duke Nicholas, the Russian Commander-in-Chief. On March 3, 1878, Turkey signed with Russia the famous treaty of San Stephano. That treaty provided for the complete independence and territorial aggrandisement of the Principalities of Roumania, Servia, and Montenegro, the creation of a self-governing Principality of Bulgaria, and of two autonomous Provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The presence of Russia before the Bosphorus, was more alarming to Europe than had been any exploit of the Turk in the Balkans, and the western Chancelleries at once set about devising means for counterfoiling the results of the war to Russia and preventing the trophies of victory from remaining in her hands. Under pressure of European demands Russia was forced to accept a revision of the treaty of San Stephano, and a congress of the Powers for effecting that purpose convened at Berlin on June 13, 1878, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck.

At that congress England and Austria were the two Powers most directly opposed to Servian na-

tional interests. The Servian Minister Plenipotentiary at Berlin, Yovan Ristich, was proffered the friendly advice to direct his country toward an understanding with Austria. Austria-Hungary at the congress made her consent to any extension of Servian borders conditional upon that extension being limited to the south-eastern frontier of the Servian State, and exacted that the two Serb Principalities of Servia and Montenegro should remain separated by a strip of territory over which Austria-Hungary was to receive rights of protectorate. Servia was further asked to undertake the construction of railway lines connecting the Austrian railway system with the Turkish system in the direction of Constantinople and Salonika. Austria was also to receive from Servia especial customs privileges in a commercial treaty, Servia was to contribute financially toward the Austro-Hungarian expense of regulating the Iron Gates in the Danube, and enter eventually into a customs union with Austria-Hungary. Such were the terms which the Servian Minister was forced to accept by the protocol signed on June 25, 1878.

The treaty of Berlin acknowledged the independence of Montenegro and Servia and allowed to each a small territorial extension of borders. The request of Austria-Hungary to be given a mandate to occupy and "pacify" Bosnia-Herzegovina was put before the congress by England and France. The granting of that demand swept away the liberties and advantages which Bosnia-Herzegovina had won for itself at the sword's point and which were guaranteed by Russia in the San Stephano treaty. Aus-

tria-Hungary found it necessary, in order to get into the country for the execution of the mandate, to force their way in by armed might, meeting so determined a resistance from the whole population of Bosnia and Herzegovina that the occupation was only effected after a bloody conflict which lasted up to 1882.

10. SERVIAN PEOPLE FROM 1878 TO THE PRESENT DAY. SERVIAN KINGDOM

In Servia, immediately after the war, there occurred a reorganisation of the political parties. Those who strove to shape themselves after Western models took the name of Progressists and Liberals, and the rural population, developing their programme from the ancient communistic tendencies growing out of the Zadruga and co-operative systems, were in fact the conservative elements in the country, but called themselves Radicals. In general the Progressists were more in sympathy with Austria, while the Liberals and the Radicals were either independent or leaned toward Russia.

The Cabinet, headed by Ristich, raised difficulties about meeting the demands of Austria, especially refusing to be forced into the proposed customs arrangements. Austria-Hungary was finally able to induce Prince Milan to dismiss the Ristich Cabinet and replace it with Progressists. One of the first acts of the new Cabinet was to bring about the proclamation by Parliament of Servia as a Kingdom on March 3, 1882. It was believed that the

elevation of the Principality into a Kingdom would allay public dissatisfaction with the management of public affairs during the Serbo-Turkish crisis. It was the foreign Minister of that Progressist Cabinet of King Milan who, without the consent of the other ministers and without even their knowledge, signed with Austria a secret convention, sanctioned by King Milan, the terms of which practically made of Servia an Austrian dependency.[1] This treaty was kept strictly secret and was unknown not only to the public but even to the succeeding cabinets. Thenceforward, so long as the Obrenovich dynasty ruled in Servia, that is, during the reigns of Milan and his son Alexander, the Servian King had to obey the orders privately conveyed to him from the Austrian Emperor by the mouth of the Austrian military attaché in Belgrade.[2]

The ministers, hampered by conditions of whose origin they were kept in ignorance, often finding their actions stayed without sufficient justification or explanation, were continually driven into courses as mystifying to themselves as to their countrymen and to the rest of Europe—with the exception of the authors of the secret treaty and the Vienna Court. This condition of affairs brought the country to the verge of ruin in all its relations both interior and foreign, and endured up to the time of the marriage of King Alexander with Queen Draga, under whose encouragement the young King strove, but in vain,

[1] See text as published in English in 1909 in the *Fortnightly Review*, page 838, by S. Protich.

[2] See "Das Ende der Obrenovich," by Vladan Georgevich, former Prime Minister.

to break loose from the bonds by which his father had bound the country to a foreign foe.[1]

King Milan, always in the gyves of his secret arrangements with Austria, stooped to enter party politics and found himself in conflict with the Radical party representing the rural masses. After the election in September, 1883, which gave the majority to the Radicals, the strife between the King and the Parliamentary party became acute, and when King Milan issued an order for the disarmament of the national militia, open rebellion occurred, especially in the eastern districts about Zayechar. The energetic suppression of the outbreak by armed force cut forever all ties of sympathy between the King and his people and made impossible any future reconciliation between him and the Radical party.

The Serbs in southern Hungary were split into two parties, one of which despaired of any national life for the Serbs in that land and sought to work in harmony with the Magyars. The other party was strongly national and was led by several famous leaders, Miletich, Polit, and Dimitriyevich.

[1] Knowledge of this treaty came to the author in 1892 and was communicated to the European press, which published it in all countries, meeting general refutation and categoric and explicit denials in the Austrian and Hungarian Parliaments. So sweeping and effective were these denials that public belief in the existence of the treaty was destroyed until recently, when the document was discovered at Belgrade and its terms published. In 1894 the author wrote to Prince Peter Karageorgevich, now King Peter, giving him knowledge of the convention and suggesting the propriety, on account of Prince Peter's age and position as avowed Pretender to the Servian throne, of his attempting to find means of securing the abrogation of that treaty.

In Croatia the Hungarian Government made systematic use of the sectarian religious differences between Roman Catholic Croats and Orthodox Serbs to foster divisions and strife between the two Serb groups.

The same principle of *divide et impera* was employed by Austria in Bosnia-Herzegovina to artificially induce mutual hatred and to keep swords sharpened between Serb Orthodox, Serb Catholics, and Serb Moslems. The agrarian situation which had been one of the immediate causes of the insurrection of 1875 remained unchanged, no attempt having been made by Austria to relieve the suffering agriculturalists.

In Turkey, after the two Serbo-Turkish wars, all of the Servian schools were closed by the Sultan, who played his game by the continual pitting against one another of Bulgarian, Greek, and Serb. The Serb was looked upon at Stamboul as the most dangerous of all and against him were the most stringent measures aimed.

The Berlin congress had made Danubian Bulgaria a vassal Principality under Turkey and Eastern Roumelia a self-governing Turkish province whose inhabitants, in fact, were Bulgarians. That artificial separation of the two Bulgarias was not destined to long endure. In the summer of 1885, by a peaceful revolution in the capital of Philipopolis, Eastern Roumelia proclaimed itself annexed to the Principality of Bulgaria. The European diplomatists were hard put to find a means of solving the difficulty created by this sudden breach of the Ber-

lin treaty. Servia saw a menace in that act whereby Bulgaria almost doubled her territory, especially as Bulgaria had for some time past been manifesting hostility to Servian interests. King Milan, at the secret beck of Austria, took up the gantlet and declared war on Bulgaria in November, 1885. The Servian army in four different columns crossed the borders into Bulgaria. The most northern column besieged Vidin, the three others went forward with the object of concentrating near Sophia. The middle column, which advanced along the road from Pirot, came, near Slivnitza, upon the whole Bulgarian army reinforced by the Roumelian troops. The Servian commander made the mistake, in view of the numeric weakness of his troops as compared with the enemy, of engaging in immediate battle. At the end of the day a heavy mist came on, and both the Servian and Bulgarian forces, each believing itself to be defeated, began to retreat. When the news of the supposed Bulgarian defeat reached Sofia the State Archives and the treasury were in haste transported from the town for safe-keeping and the foreign consular agencies hoisted their flags as signals of protection to their nationals. The Bulgarians, in full march on the road to Sophia, got news that the Serbs were also in retreat, and turned about to hasten after the Serb column and force it back to Pirot. At the instance of Austria an armistice was concluded, followed by a peace treaty containing one article alone, which recognised the cessation of hostilities on both sides without any compensation for either.

The question of asking King Milan to abdicate had been raised during the Serbo-Bulgarian campaign, and Milan began to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with the Radical party. The experiment was tried by forming a fusion Cabinet, which was succeeded by a purely Radical Cabinet. Immediately after the Serbo-Bulgarian encounter, domestic quarrels between King Milan and his Queen, Natalie, arose, and all State affairs were subordinated to those private quarrels. Following the divorce, which was the culmination of that humiliating national spectacle, King Milan named a parliamentary commission for the elaboration of a new constitution, which was adopted and ratified by the National Assembly in December, 1888. The new constitution established the ministerial responsibility of the Cabinet to the National Assembly. King Milan had found that the breach between himself and the Radicals was too wide to be mended, and on March 3, 1889, he abdicated the throne in favour of his young son Alexander, who was a minor, and for whom a regency composed of Ristich, Protich, and Belimarkovich was appointed. On June 15 (O. S.), on the occasion of the five hundredth anniversary of Kossovo, Alexander was anointed Servian King at the ancient church of Zhitcha, before whose altar all of the old Servian Kings had been crowned.

The rule of the regency ushered in a period of aggravated party disorder and political wrangle. On April 1, 1893, King Alexander, by a coup-d'etat, proclaimed himself of age and ended the regency.

Prince Michael Street, Belgrade

He at once appointed a Cabinet composed of Radicals with whom, however, he was soon in hot contention. King Milan returned from Paris in February, 1894, to Servia, and Alexander, by a second coup-d'etat, suspended the constitution of 1888 and replaced it by the old constitution of 1869, which allowed more scope for the exercise of the ruler's personal power, enabling him to rule with the help of the Progressist party which represented an insignificant minority of the people in the country.

In the last decade of the nineteenth century the Servian Government began to give closer attention to the furtherance of Servian interests in Macedonia and Old Servia and the protection and general welfare of the Serb inhabitants of those lands. The Servian schools, which had been closed after the Serbo-Turkish war, 1876–78, were reopened, and for the defence of those populations against the active and aggressive Bulgarian and Greek propaganda, the united efforts of Servia and Montenegro were able to obtain from Constantinople the nomination of a Serb Metropolitan over the Serbs of Rashka and Přisren. The visit in 1896 of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro to King Alexander at Belgrade, at the time of the Hungarian millenium festivities, was a manifestation of the identity of the national aim of the two Servian rulers and their peoples.

In Bosnia the Serbs instituted the cultural society called "Servian Brothers," which gave an organised

form to the general national aspirations of the Serbs in Bosnia.

The co-ordinated efforts of Servia and Montenegro and the exhibition in all the Serb lands of a renascence of national sentiment received a warning from Vienna and Buda-Pesth in the closing of the Austro-Hungarian borders to Servian produce.

At the same time in Zagreb hostile demonstrations of Serb Catholics (Croats) were aroused against the Orthodox Serbs. It was not long, however, before the two religious groups of the same race began to perceive the artificial origin of that strife, and in revulsion initiated a movement toward the attainment of a mutual understanding.

The Servian Government, then wholly occupied with interior questions, and in regard to foreign affairs under the spell of a policy dictated by the secret treaty with Austria, had failed to put to profit the favourable occasion created by the Turco-Greek war in 1897.

The final return of King Milan from Paris to Servia in support of his son King Alexander, and the formation of the Cabinet headed by Vladan Georgevich which lasted from 1897 to July, 1900, brought in a period of strong centralisation and almost autocratic rule. In February, 1899, as a result of personal difficulties between St. Petersburg and King Alexander seconded by his father all friendly relations between Servia and Russia were suspended. In July of the same year there was an attempt made in Belgrade to assassinate King Milan,

which was supposed to emanate from his immediate family and which it was intended to foist upon the Radical party.[1]

A state of siege was proclaimed and a series of wholesale arrests and prosecutions of all the Radical leaders threw the people into a state of alarm and mistrust.

In the midst of this unrest and general dissatisfaction with the Obrenovich régime, King Alexander, choosing an occasion when the Prime Minister and King Milan were absent from Servia, proclaimed to the people in July, 1900, his betrothal to Madam Draga Lounyevitza, the widow of an engineer named Mashin. That unfortunate lady was by blood the equal of King Alexander, as her great-grandfather had powerfully assisted the Old Milosh Obrenovich in the final liberation of Servia. Lounyevitza was a man of large fortune, all of which he had sacrificed to his country's cause, and for that reason his granddaughter was extremely poor, and as a widow found it necessary to earn her living. Finally, she became lady in waiting to Queen Natalie, in which capacity she was thrown into the society of King Alexander. The announcement of the King's intention was not ill received by the Servian people in general, but violent protests came from Queen Natalie, King Milan, the Cabinet, the army, and the nearer friends of the Obrenovich dynasty, who all argued against the marriage the fact which had been disclosed by a former surgical operation—that Madam Draga could never hope to be the mother

[1] See "Das Ende der Obrenovich," by Vladan Georgevich, then Prime Minister.

of an heir. In celebration of that betrothal King Alexander freed the Radical leaders from imprisonment and gave amnesty to all other political offenders. At once upon the marriage of King Alexander, good relations were restored with Russia, who had befriended Queen Draga. The western European press, fed from Vienna, entered upon a campaign of calumny against the Queen, about whom was drawn a net of intrigues.

In April, 1901, King Alexander promulgated a new constitution which had been framed by representatives of all the political parties. The special characteristic of that constitution was that it did away with the old system of one chamber and instituted in its stead an upper and a lower house of Parliament The Cabinet and the Parliament were both mainly radical, but the absolutist tendencies of the King's personal rule made it impossible for him to work with the instrument of Government which he had created. The result was the formation of a military cabinet under the premiership of General Tzintzar-Markovich.

The finances of the country were disorganised, and suffered keenly from the exactions of foreign financiers in connection with a series of loans which, during the reigns of Milan and Alexander, had been rashly negotiated under terms ruinous for the country; the army and government officials were irregularly paid; favouritism and its correlative, inefficiency, permeated all branches of public administration; and both interior and foreign policy were erratic and confusing. The volume of general complaint increased; the people were restless; and a sense of

insecurity prevailed which provided a favourable atmosphere for foreign intrigues and plots directed toward a change of dynasty. In the first days of April, 1903, rioters were shot down in the streets of Belgrade; a few days later the Constitution was suspended for some hours during which several of the judges were dismissed from office, and laws decreed putting greater authority into the hands of the King and his Government.

When, in the month of May, the elections were accompanied with scandalous falsifications of returns by Government order, popular exasperation reached the limits of endurance, and there was manifested a general desire to make a speedy end of the long accumulation of administrative incapacity and error which for twenty years had continually humiliated Servia in the eyes of Europe and brought the country to the verge of irreparable catastrophe.

On the night of June 11, 1903, a committee of conspirators, partly military and partly civil, made their way into the royal palace and shot King Alexander and Queen Draga. The same night the Prime Minister, the Minister of War, an aide-de-camp of the King, and the two brothers of the Queen were also slain.

The conspirators immediately proclaimed Prince Peter Karageorgevich, the grandson of old Kara-George, and within a few days the national Assembly elected him King of Servia as Peter I.

In the Hapsburg Empire, in spite of all the efforts of the Government to foster religious contentions

and enmity between the Serbs and the Croats, these two blood brothers came by degrees to understand that their national interests were identical. By the "Resolutions of Fiume and Zara" in 1906, a coalition was formed in the Croat Diet between the Servian Independent party and the Croatian Opposition.

The Serbs in Croatia began at that time to show considerable economical and educational progress in the institution of a Servian bank and schools of agriculture and handicrafts.

In Servia it was some time after the coming to the throne of King Peter before the general interior conditions began to show improvement. In Parliament the split of the Radical party into two sections, old and independent Radicals, occasioned a succession of Cabinet crises.

In 1904 Austria-Hungary again closed her borders to Servian produce, and since then a more or less continual state of tariff war has gone on between the two countries, interrupted at times by provisional arrangements and attempts to conclude a commercial treaty. The peremptory barring from the north of Servian cattle and produce, which had in former times proved ruinous to the Servian farmers, has manifested on this occasion unlooked-for and not unfavourable results. At first the measure caused an economic depression in the country, but the energetic action of the Government in seeking new outlets and new markets farther afield, the establishment of slaughter and packing houses and the canning in-

dustry, which gave increased facility for handling both meat and fruits, opened markets in Egypt, Italy, France, England, and elsewhere, while in Austria the scarcity of meat from the absence of Servian importations was felt by the population and created some difficulty for the Austro-Hungarian Government. In Servia the eased outlet has resulted in an unexpected increase of produce and a distinct betterment of economical conditions. During the last few years the Servian Budgets have got rid of the chronic deficits which characterised the Obrenovich régime and show, in spite of an increased public expenditure, a steady surplus of revenue over expenditure.

The interior political situation was complicated by the "question of the regicides." The men who had slain King Alexander took steps to secure their own personal safety under the succeeding régime and formed a separate political group, which has during the reign of King Peter exercised a strong influence in public affairs and the administration of the army. A general reaction against the rule of the regicides began to be felt, and under the pressure of English demands several of the higher officers who had been leaders in the conspiracy were removed from their posts. The tension between the Regicide party and their antagonists resulted in the assassination in September, 1907, of the most active leader of the anti-Regicide party, Captain Milan Novakovich. The circumstances attending that assassination were fully exploited by outside intrigues supported by Austria-Hungary in an effort to supplant a national

Servian ruler by an Anglo-German prince.[1] The impression produced abroad and in the country by these events was such that the Servians of all parties realised the presence of a situation which, if left to the natural course of human passion, was fraught with gravest national peril. All parties made an effort at self-control. The regicides abstained from further marked intervention in administrative affairs, and their antagonists, whose numbers had considerably increased, maintained also an attitude of self-restraint.

In Macedonia the struggles of the races—Greek, Bulgarian, Albanian, and Serb—against Turkish rule increased with the advance of the twentieth century. The attempt at revolution in 1903 failed of result except that it drew the attention of Europe keenly to that region and gave the watching Powers a fresh occasion for interference without benefiting the population.

In 1904 the Bulgarian propaganda planned a new rising which received financial contribution from both Austria-Hungary and England. No organised campaign took place, sporadic fighting occurred between the different bands backed each by its own propaganda. First the Bulgarians undertook to

[1] Such intrigues, which would provide a timely civil list and an occupation for some one of these foreign princes are entirely disassociated from any regard for Servian interests. The National Dynasties of both the Servian States, the Karageorgevich in Servia and the Petrovich-Negoush in Montenegro, have heirs in direct line of succession: in Servia, Crown-Prince Alexander with his brother George and his cousin Paul; and in Montenegro, Crown-Prince Danilo and his brothers Mirko and Petar.

coerce the Greeks and the Serbs into the Bulgarian nation, which brought about Greek reprisals, and then at a later time bands were sent from Servia to fight the fight of their compatriots in Macedonia against Turk, Greek, and Bulgar. Those conditions have not wholly disappeared even to-day.

In Montenegro, Prince Nicholas, in November, 1905, renounced autocratic rule, proclaimed a constitution, and summoned a National Assembly. All of the symptoms of a parliamentary régime were soon apparent; political parties were developed and began a hot contest over conflicting principles, and the sovereign found himself opposed to the party representing the main mass of the inhabitants.

In Croatia the parliamentary coalition between Catholic Croats and Orthodox Servians met the antagonism of the Hungarian Government at Buda-Pesth.

In Bosnia-Herzegovina the Servian societies passed a resolution in May, 1907, creating a political organisation for the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Serbs, and at a great popular gathering in October, 1907, a programme was elaborated which demanded self-government for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The Serb Moslems supported the Orthodox Christian Serbs in the framing of these demands.

A determined national movement for the accomplishment of racial ideals and liberty arose through all the Serb lands. In Croatia, southern Hungary,

and Bosnia-Herzegovina this impulse was met by severe repressive measures; by prosecutions and persecutions in Croatia and by terrorism in Bosnia and Herzegovina.[1]

The year 1908 began with an announcement made by the Austrian Foreign Minister that Austria-Hungary would construct a railroad through Novi-Bazar, the strip of territory which separates the two independent Servian States, and connect with the existing lines going to Salonika. That railway, purely strategical in character, was recognised by Europe as a menace to the Servians and to Turkey.

In the spring of that same year occurred the

[1] Austrian agents, by means of a correspondence which was proved to be forged and fraudulent testimony, caused arrests and prosecutions, known as the "Bomb Affair," to be made in Montenegro with the object of creating suspicion and animosity between Servia and Montenegro.

Those same "*agents provocateurs*" furnished also documents upon which was based the arrest and prosecution for high treason of the leaders of the Servian party in Croatia. After languishing for a year in prison those Servians were condemned after an outrageous trial during which the accusers were unable to produce any evidence in support of their accusations. Dr. Friedjung, an Austrian historian of repute, published in Vienna a series of so-called revelations in connection with the Croatian trials. Servian members of the Croatian Diet therein named brought an action against the professor for libel and the suit revealed the facts that the documents upon which he based his assertions originated with the same Austrian "*agents provocateurs*" who had been the chief accusers in the Montenegrin "bomb" trial and in the Croatian trial for high treason, and, further, that Dr. Friedjung had received those documents from the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Office, as having passed through the hands of the Heir-Apparent Archduke Franz Ferdinand and the Foreign Minister Count Achrenthal. The libel suit established clearly that the documents in question were forgeries, and that fact was recognised in court by Dr. Friedjung himself, with full apologies to the injured parties. These revelations of Austro-Hungarian political methods received due attention from the press of Europe, and were followed by an amnesty to the persons condemned in the Croatian trial. See the London weekly publication *The Spectator*, of January 1, 1910, and the reports of the trial in the Vienna daily papers.

European visits of King Edward VII to France, Austria, and Russia, which were made in the interest of the Delcassé policy of isolating Germany, and to further consummate plans for the division of Turkey. In answer to that move Sultan Abd-ul-Hamid, at Stamboul, once more outwitted Europe. On July 24, 1908, in accord with the demands of the Young Turks, the Sultan proclaimed a constitution for the Ottoman Empire.

European statesmanship accepted the reverse with as good grace as possible, with the exception of Austria-Hungary, who annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina in October, and Bulgaria, who threw off the last vestige of the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan and proclaimed herself a kingdom.

With the violation of the Berlin treaty in the seizure of the Servian lands of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Austro-Hungarian Government began a campaign of violent provocation against the two Servian States, Servia and Montenegro, aimed at securing a pretext for invading and occupying those two countries.

The seizure of Bosnia-Herzegovina was not only a blow to national Serb sentiment, but the closing in of Servia on the west was a direct menace to Servian liberty.

The first impression throughout the country was staggering. Every man was ready to rush into battle, and believed that Servia would and must fight. The flagrant provocations by Austria along the borders, which were several times actually crossed by Hapsburg soldiers, and the insolent and aggres-

sive tone at Vienna and Buda-Pesth, was a warning to the Serbs that the Austro-Hungarian programme was not yet fully complete. To weather the crisis, the Servians formed a coalition cabinet including the best men of all the political parties, under the premiership of the old statesman and historian Stoyan Novakovich, with Milovanovich as Foreign Minister.

A military convention was concluded with Montenegro, and both countries began in feverish haste to make all possible military preparations for a defence against an Austrian invasion.

The tactful and skilful guidance of the foreign policy by Minister Milovanovich, and the self-restraint exercised by the whole people, steered the Servian State clear of the rocks upon which storms within and without, augmented by mischiveous foreign intrigue, were doing their utmost to drive her.

CONCLUSION

THROUGH the expansion of European interests to the Orient and the planting of European colonies in those Eastern lands, which opened up Suez, the eastern Mediterranean has reacquired its ancient importance to the world.

Up to the time of the French Revolution the main question concerning the Balkan Peninsula was the dispossessing of the Turk and the division of the territories he had conquered between European Powers, especially Austria and Russia, with hardly any more extended aim than territorial aggrandisement.

With the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon's Egyptian campaign aimed at the ultimate conquest of India, and the beginning of fierce economic competition among European Powers for Oriental trade supremacy, the Near-Eastern question assumed its modern complexity. This problem involves the possession and control of that part of the world which, by its command of the land routes and the waterway via Suez eastward, including those points where the most direct communications between East and West can be interrupted, forms the strategic key to the Orient and southern Asia.

The modern reawakening of Asia and the coming into national consciousness of the populous countries of India and the Far East, recently stimu-

lated by the Japanese victories over Russia, have made immanent a struggle, moral if not military, between the two regions at the opposite extremities of the Eurasian Continent.

The main strategic point of the Near East commanding the whole Balkan Peninsula lies in Servia.

There, also, in the basin of Nish, is the junction of the two great longitudinal valleys forming to-day, as they have from the earliest ages, the shortest and most direct roadway between Europe and Asia. This road, from its bifurcation at Nish, leads eastward across Constantinople and southward to Salonika, the most magnificent harbour in the eastern Mediterranean, which shortens the way to Suez.

That supreme strategic position places the Servian States and the Servian people in the front rank of significance in regard to the Near-Eastern problem. For that reason and others involved therein, that particular region has ever been the point of convergence of the covetous desires of other States. In fact, the very kernel of the Near-Eastern question is an international contest for the control of the Servian plateau and of Suez as well as of Constantinople.

It is essential to the maintenance of international equilibrium that the guardian of the great gateway should be wholly independent of the contending Powers of Europe, a lover of peace, and should by nature look for the fulfilment of national ideals within and at home, not gazing over-seas toward foreign conquests.

If, as the philosopher Leibnitz said, "there is geometry in thought," it is similarly true that there is mo-

rality, and the highest, in the consolidation of a race. Indeed, the pulling force of a race's tendency to unite and represent one whole, is the measure of its integrity, and also of its sidereal value in the human cosmos.

A distinguished French publicist and student of European politics, Edouard Driault, has said that present world-conditions date from about 1870, from the unification of the German race into modern Germany and the creation of modern Italy in the unification of the Italian race.

The weak and disrupted condition of Italy and Germany, which during hundreds of years remained mere geographical expressions, made those two regions the battle-fields of European ambitions. The unification, in the nineteenth century, of both Italy and Germany brought calm to both of those storm-centres and, replacing weakness with strength, allowed two great nations to come forward as leaders in the van of progress and civilisation.

The progress and development of any race in a true sense cannot borrow or import their bases, but must grow out of the genius and mentality of the race in its encounters with its own problems, and must be firmly rooted in national experience; that is, in the traditions and beliefs of the individuals forming the nation. The inspirational power of nationality has been proved not only in Germany and Italy but in all European lands.

All the lessons to be drawn from history would indicate to ordinary political sagacity that in the unification of each of the Balkan races lies the solution of the Near-Eastern question.

The unification of the Serbs, the Bulgars, the Roumanians, and the Greeks into homogeneous entities would be the most potent factor in any approach to intelligent co-operation for individual development and general defence.

Among the Balkan races the Servian is numerically the strongest, with the most pronounced individuality, and has incorporated from time immemorial an undying central principle of civic and religious freedom, and has always striven toward an ever-progressing realisation of equality in government and justice as the truest safeguards of the rights of the individual. For the attainment of these ideals the Servians have stood their ground and spilt their blood through the ages; and understanding that in union only is strength, they have ceaselessly tended toward unification, finding it necessary at times to battle even against their own temperamental proclivities toward individual self-assertion.

In the case of the more western nations, all the exterior and interior antagonisms, all the efforts of the Powers to prevent the formation of a united Italy and a united Germany were in vain. The growth of those peoples toward a general national purpose and formulation into a strong whole, though hardly perceptible to the casual observer of that time, appears at the present day to have been steady and determined and comparable to an irresistible force

of nature, capable of being retarded in its action for a season, but bearing within itself the sure fiat of final fulfilment which, before the eyes of a single generation, became with sudden glory an accomplished fact.

The tendency toward race-unification, which was always a characteristic of the Servian people and which was forced into latency during the Turkish domination, began to stir anew like sap of spring throughout all the Serb lands with the first victories of the war of liberation in 1804, and since then has continued to augment in force, finding expression in the political and cultural renascence of the whole nineteenth century, becoming more and more distinct throughout that period of heroic struggle and during the reconstitution of a State exemplifying the principles of freedom and justice.

To-day that general national consciousness and desire for union is a living power among all Servian peoples.

The sentiment for union and the determination to bring all Servian regions into a great State organism that shall be national in its expression, in its genius, and in its aims, embodying the will and ideals of the race, are common to-day to all Serbs.

It is the belief of the Servians that neither the Hapsburgs (Austria-Hungary) nor other European Powers will be able in the long run to prevent Servian unification.

Too bold is the man who assumes to forecast the course of future events, but Destiny ever endows

her children with opportunity, and the Serbs believe that, matching an alert will with opportunity, the inhabitants of the various regions of the Serb block of territory will, in course of time, as by the action of natural forces, come together into one great State, and the work of Nemanya, the work of Doushan, the work of Lazar, the work of Kara-George and Milosh Obrenovich, of the Modern Kingdom, and of the Principality, and the dreams of all Serbs still under foreign rule, will culminate in the realisation of the concept dear to them these many centuries—a great and united Servia.

"Be not afraid nor dismayed by reason of this great multitude, for the battle is not yours but God's . . . ye shall not need to fight in this battle . . . set yourselves, stand ye . . . for the Lord will be with you. . . ."—(II Chronicles, chapter xx.)

APPENDIX

THE PROJECTED SERBO-TURKISH CANAL TO JOIN THE DANUBE RIVER WITH THE ÆGEAN SEA

TO FORM, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN WATER-WAY SYSTEMS, A CONTINUOUS AND DIRECT WATER ROUTE FROM THE BALTIC AND NORTH SEAS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND SUEZ

In the spring of 1909 propositions for concessions to construct a Serbo-Turkish water-way, based on engineer's reports, preliminary surveys, works, and projects, with tables of estimates as furnished to Prince Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich for the American Engineering Company by the foremost engineer of Servia, Mr. N. I. Stamenkovich, Professor of Hydro-Technics at the University of Belgrade, were laid before the Servian Government by Mr.V. R. Savich (since then, Chief of a Department in the Servian Foreign Office), acting on behalf of the American company. The same proposals were submitted to the Turkish Government.

This project is to construct a water-way 382 miles in length from the River Danube to the port of Salonika, on the Ægean Sea, navigable for boats of 1,000 tons' carrying capacity; and for that purpose to utilise the river Morava, in Servia, and the river Vardar, in Turkey, by connecting them with a canal across the low watershed of Preshevo where both rivers rise and mingle their head-waters. From Preshevo the Morava flows almost due north into the Danube, while the Vardar takes a straight course nearly due south to the Ægean Sea.

That water route will lie within the great north-to-south valley from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, which forms one

of the most impressive geographical features of the Balkan Peninsula, and through which runs the railroad from Belgrade, on the Danube, to Salonika, following the ancient route of trade. The Bay of Salonika is formed by nature to be one of the most magnificent harbours of the world.

The project presents no engineering difficulties; the average fall of the Morava River is .78 $^{0}/_{00}$, while that of the Vardar is 1.13 $^{0}/_{00}$.

The total extent of surface drained into the Morava River is 14,773 square miles, and the total extent of area drained into the Vardar is 9,780 square miles.

A copious and sufficient supply of water is available throughout the year in all seasons for the entire water-way.

The work necessary for the construction of the water-way consists in:

1. Regulation of the lower courses of both rivers;
2. The canalisation of a part of each river; and
3. The construction of a navigable canal to connect them on the Preshevo watershed, with a reservoir or artificial lake to feed the canal.

The projected Serbo-Turkish water-way will, when constructed, complete the great central European inland water-way systems: the Danube-Oder Canal, the Danube-Moldau-Elbe Canal, and the Danube-Main-Rhine Canal; will drain the greatest industrial centres of mid-Europe, and will shorten the trade water route between the Suez Canal and the ports of Antwerp, Rotterdam, Bremen, Hamburg, Stettin, etc., on the North and Baltic Seas, via Gibraltar, by 1,600 miles, and via the inland water-ways, the Danube, the Black Sea, and Constantinople, by nearly half the present length of the route.

Boats using the projected water-way through Servia and Turkey would avoid the difficulties and the great expenditure of both time and money connected with the shipping traffic on that part of the Danube River known as the "Iron Gates," and the dangers of Black Sea navigation.

Enormous sums have been expended by the Austro-Hungarian governments in attempts to regulate and make navigable that part of the Danube, but the result has proved unsatisfactory.

A large portion of central European commerce going to the Mediterranean and Suez is forced to pass by way of the northern seas and the long route of Gibraltar.

The gravity of this problem can be judged by two projects for avoiding the lower Danube, which have been offered to the consideration of the Austrian and the Hungarian Parliaments. One of these calls for the construction of a canal across the Alps from Vienna to Trieste, to be half canal and half ship-rail, at an estimated cost of $100,000,000. The other scheme aims at connecting the river Sava, in Croatia, with the port of Fiume, on the Adriatic, necessitating a tunnel of 16 miles, bearing a canal and piercing the ranges of the Dinaric Alps. No official estimates for this proposition have been published, as its feasibility is questioned by the authorities.

The traffic estimated as available for these projected routes, based on the present shipment by Hamburg and Trieste from and to the Austro-Hungarian industrial centres alone, is 4,000,000 tons yearly.

Most, if not all, of this tonnage could reasonably be estimated as available for the proposed Serbo-Turkish water-way. The commerce from German centres would also find its advantage in using the shortened and cheapened new water route toward the eastern Mediterranean.

The traffic which at present is forced to pass via the Iron Gates of the Danube to the Black Sea is 2,000,000 tons yearly. The estimates for the Serbo-Turkish project have left out of account any local traffic to be expected from Servian and Turkish commerce, though it is recognised that the water-way cannot fail to be an important factor in the development of those regions.

The history of canals has shown in every case that the construction of a shorter and cheaper water-way has greatly increased the traffic and has created traffic where none existed before.

To cite the Suez Canal as an example: In 1870 there passed through the canal, 436,609 registered tons; in 1883, 5,777,862 tons; and in 1907, 20,500,000 tons.

The history of the canalisation of the river Main from Mainz

to Frankfurt, in Germany, gives an idea of the increase on inland water-ways: In the year of its completion, 1887, it carried 156,000 tons of traffic which rose to 1,087,000 tons in 1899.

The total cost of the Serbo-Turkish water-way, from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, according to the reports and table of estimates furnished to the American Engineering Company by the engineers and experts engaged for that purpose, would be $65,000,000, inclusive of all preliminary and accessory works, appropriations, etc., and 4 per cent. on the capital required during the estimated period of construction.

These estimates were based upon the actual cost of canal construction in Germany, where some of the conditions were less favourable than those to be obtained for the Danube-Ægean project.

The sum required yearly, after the completion of the canal, to meet all working expenses and 4 per cent. interest on capital is estimated at $3,456,800, which would be covered by tolls, sale of water-power, and income on land and water-rights.

The traffic necessary to insure a profit, if reckoned on tolls alone, would have to be 4,000,000 tons yearly. However, tolls would not be the sole source of income, as it is apparent that large returns would result from the sale of water-rights for electric power-works and other purposes.

As the projected Serbo-Turkish water-way from the Danube to Salonika will, in conjunction with the Danube-Elbe, the Danube-Oder, and the Danube-Main-Rhine canals, tap the richest and most extensive productive and industrial areas of central Europe, and will furnish the cheapest and shortest route for their export and import traffic with the Near and Far East, it appears safe to predict that this water-way will early command the tonnage of traffic necessary to amply justify the Servian and the Turkish governments in hastening its construction.

The existing Inland Waterways of Central Europe, navigable for boats of 1,000 tons, and the projected Danube-Ægean (Serbo-Turkish) Canal.

INDEX

Administration, Servia, 111; Montenegro, 132; Bosnia, 144; Dalmatia, 154; Croatia-Slavonia, 159, 160; Banat, 168; Old Servia, 171.
Adrianople, treaty of, 620; Turkish capital, 499.
Adriatic Sea, 93, 154.
A. E. I. O. U., Austriæ est Imperare Orbi Universo (Austria has the right to rule the whole universe), 503.
Agrarian slaves in Byzance, 168, 187.
Agriculture, Serb, 123, 292.
Albanian ranges, 105.
Albigenses, Protestant sect, 351.
Alexander I, King of Servia, 712; his assassination, 717.
Alexander Karageorgevich, Prince of Servia, 682.
Altomanovich, Servian nobleman, 494.
America, discovery of, 502.
American vines, 123.
Amusement, 45, 46, 84.
Ancestral worship, 190, 191.
Angora, battle of, 500.
Anjou, Charles d', 470.
Annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria, 144.
Anti-slavery, 266.
Apiculture, 123.
Arabic culture, 426.
Archæological evidence, 3–6.
Archimandrite, Church dignitary, 231.
Architecture, 406.
Arsen III, Servian Patriarch, 586, 588, 595.
Army, Servia, 115–118; Montenegro, 136–140; Dalmatia, 155; Croatia, 161.
Army in mediæval Servia, 287.
Art on ancient incinerary vases, 4.
Athos, Mount, 368.
Austerlitz, battle of, 618.
Austrian defeat in Italy, 691.
Austrian succession, war of, 582.
Austro-Prussian-Italian war, 623.
Austro-Servian secret treaty, Servia's ruin, 708.
Austro-Turkish alliance, 614.

Baden, Margrave of, 590.
Baldwin of Flanders, 459.
Balkans, 94–106.
Balsha of Zeta, 493.
Banat, 6, 167.
Batchka, 6, 167.
Bayazid, Turkish Sultan, 515.
Beit-ul-Mal, 314.
Belgrade bombarded, 694.
Berat Bashi-Knez, 327.
Berlin Congress, 143; treaty of, 624.
Bismarck, German statesman, 692.
Block of Serb territory, 93–174; boundaries of, 93; mountains of, 94, 95; river systems of, 95–99.
Blood-tax, 21.
Bodin, King, 193, 445.
Bogomil faith, 350.
Bogomilism, 197.
Bosnia, 142; crusade against, 464; occupied by Austria, 706.
Bougar, common people in Byzance, 183; as term of contempt, 184; of different origin as Blgar (Bulgarian), 184.

Brankovich, George III, Despot, 588; Vouk, 290, 517; Despot George, 265, 533; Despot Vouk Zmay, 558.
Bucharest, treaty of, 659.
Burial rites, 70–73.

Capitulations, 581.
Carniolia, 93.
Carpathians, 94, 106.
Carpets, 44; industries, 128, 130, 151.
Carst, 94, 101, 102.
Catharine II of Russia, 582.
Cavour, Italian statesman, 691.
Central fire, 68.
Cereals, 124.
Ceremonial at old Servian Court, 215–218.
Charles Robert, King of Hungary, 474.
Chaslav, 193.
Christian clergy under Turks, 323.
Christmas, 80–83.
Clothing, 9–12.
Coalition of Western Powers against Turks fails, 529.
Commerce, 130; Serb, Montenegro, 140.
Communications, lines of Serb, 130; Montenegro, 131.
Communities, 178, 190, 288.
Congress of Vienna, 619.
Constandin the Philosopher, 533, note.
Constantin Dragasces, last Emperor of Byzance, 543.
Constantin Porphyrogenet, 192.
Constantinople seized by Crusaders, 458; fall of before Turks, 501.
Constitution proclaimed in Turkey, 723.
Constitution, Serb, 109; Montenegro, 133.
Convention of the straits, 621.
Courage, 20–22.
Court commission for Servian affairs, 610.
Crimean war, 622.
Criminal law, 280.
Croat, 8, 435, 475.
Croatia-Slavonia, 93; budget continual deficit, 161.
Crusaders, 8.
Cultural tendencies, 19–20.
Cviyich, Iovan, geographer, 389.
Cyril and Method, 342.

Dalmatia, 153.
Dalmatian towns lifeless, 154.
Dance, 87, 88.
Danilo proclaims himself Prince of Montenegro, 686.
Danitchich, philologist, 387.
Death and burial, 69.
Democratic, 40.
Democratic organisation, 194.
Detchanski, King Stephan, 212.
Devchurme tax, 322.
Dinaric system, 94, 103, 105.
Dobrnyatz, Petar, Servian leader, 634, 639.
Dodola, 75, 76.
Domatchina, 44.
Doublya, Servian victory of, 670.
Doushan, 194, 199, 216, 218, 248.
Doushan's Code, 177, 197, 232, 234; studied in Part III.
Drama, 418.
Dues of Vlachs, 263.

Easter, 80–84.
Ecclesiastical courts, 278.
Education, Servia, 112; Montenegro, 134; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 147; Dalmatia, 155, 156; Croatia-Slavonia, 162, 163; Old Servia, 172, 365.
Egypt, Napoleon in, 618.
Election methods in Banat and Batchka, 168, 169.
Election of kings, 195, 198.
Elective rights, early, 198.
Emigration, none from Servia, 109; Montenegro, 132; Bosnia-Herzegovina, large, 148; Dalmatia, large, 153; Croatia, enormous, 161; into Russia, 611.
Equality before the law of all classes in early Servia, 252, 270.
Espendje tax, 318.

Ethnike Hetaira, Greek society, 673.
Eugene of Savoy, Prince, Austrian general, 597.
Evolution of Servian State, 193.
Executive power of sovereign and power of National Assembly in early times, 199.

Family basis of Serb organisation, 39.
Family life, 39.
Fauna, 107.
Festivals, 55, 64.
Feudalism in Europe, 507.
Fight of the Servian people against Turks, 499.
Finances, Servia, 118; Montenegro, Bosnia-Herzegovina, 145; Dalmatia, 158; Croatia, 161.
Fine arts, 405.
Fire, 76, 78.
Flora, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107.
Food, 8, 9.
Forestry, 126, 127, 150.
Forests, 293.
Francis I, King of France, 503.
Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, 684.
Franco-German war, 623.
Franco-Sardinian-Austrian war, 622.
Franco-Turkish treaty, 504.
Frederick Barbarossa, German Emperor, 428.
Funeral feast, 71, 72.

Gaj, Ludevit, poet, 390.
Garibaldi, Italian patriot, 691.
Geographical features, 93.
George Castriota, Skender-Beg, 542.
Glasnik, 177, note.
Goubernador, chief executive of Montenegrin clans, 339.
Government, 109.
Gradjani, 239.
Grahovo, battle of, 689.
Greek project, 614.
Greek rebellion, 620.
Gregoras, Byzantine chronicler, 230, note.
Gregorius Zamblack, biographer, 248.
Guarantees of personal liberty, 248.
Gundulich, Ivan, poet, 375.

Haram-Basha, 330.
Haydouks, 329, 575.
Hearth-fire, 77.
Hegouman (Abbot), 231.
Heracleus, Emperor, 430.
Herzegovina, insurrection in, 701.
Hidden rivers, 92.
Hilendar Monastery, 368.
Hof-Kriegs-Rath, Hapsburg administrative body, 598.
Hospital, 234.
Hrebelianovich, Lazar, 208, 217, 227, 239.
Hungary, Turks conquer, 501, 560.
Hunting, 294.
Hunyadi, Janko, 537.
Hussites and Hussite wars, 528.

Ian Sobieski, King of Poland, saves Vienna, 585.
Ianko Katich, 630.
Illegitimacy of children unknown, 52.
Illyria, 391.
Illyrian Court deputation, 614.
Illyrian Kingdom, 651.
Imperial Dignity, 218.
Ioan Angelos, Despot of Thessaly, 471.
Industries, Servia, 128; Montenegro 139; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 151, 152; Dalmatia, 156, 157; Croatia, 165.
Insurrection of Saint Sava, 568.
Iron Gates, 106.
Italy, united, 691.
Itchko, Petar, Servian plenipotentiary, 641.
Ivan III of Moscow married Sophia Paleologue, 502.
Ivankovatz, battle of, 634–638.

Janissaries, 305, 332.
Joint responsibility, 205.
Judiciary, early, 196.
Jury, early, in Servia, 196, 212, 213, 220; forms of, 278; constitution of, 276.

Justice, Servia, 114; Montenegro, 135; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 148; Croatia-Slavonia, 161; administration of, in mediæval Servia, 268; courts of, 269; procedure, 273, for foreigners, 286.
Justice in mediæval Servia, 177; public law courts open to all classes, 245.

Kabal of grain, measure, 228.
Kadi, Turkish judge, 311.
Kalinik, Servian Patriarch, 603.
Kaminski, Count, Russian general, 653,
Kantakouzene, 480.
Kara-George, 27, 629, 630, 636, 640, 641, 645, 656, 657.
Karadjich, Vouk Stephanovich, scholar, writer, 381–383.
Karlovitz, treaty of, 579.
Katchich Mioshich, poet, 377.
Khalifs, Turkish sultans take title of, 502.
Khanouns of Sultan Suleyman, 317.
Kharadje tax, 320; land, 312.
Knez, only purely Slavonic title, 191, 201.
Kolo, 87, 88.
Koporinski, chronicler, 486.
Kossovo, 87, 88, 107, 170, 174; songs of battle of, 396–401, 500.
Kotchina Kraina, 615.
Koulikovo, battle of, 502.
Kourshid Pasha, defeated by Kara-George, 654.
Kulin, Ban of Bosnia, 372.

Ladislas, King of Naples, 525.
Language, 31–39.
Latifundia, 186, 187.
Latin Empire, 428.
Law, private, 280; criminal and penal, 280.
Lazar Hrebelianovich, 208, 217, 227, 239, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497.
Lazarevich, Louka, Servian leader, 631.
Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, 265.
Legends, 27, 31.
Leopold I, Hapsburg Emperor, 589.
Literature, Old Servian, 370; modern Servian, 378; of the Kaykavci, 377; Dalmatian period, 374; new Serbo-Croat, 390.
Live stock, 125.
Logothet, 232.
London conference, 623.
Louis XIV, King of France, 578.
Love, 52, 79, 80.
Love of country, 16.
Ludwig, King of Hungary, 485.
Lyoubich, Milosh Obrenovich defeats Turks at, 669.
Lyouiyevitza, Madam Draga, 715.

Macarius, Servian Patriarch, brother of Turkish Grand Vizir, 565.
Macedo-Servian State, 438.
Magyar Oligarchy, 606.
Manassia founded by Despot Stephan Lazarovich, 366.
Marriage, 52, 64.
Martin Luther, 562.
Mathias Corvinus, King of Hungary, 558.
Matrimony, 115.
Mazzini, Italian patriot, 691.
Mediæval Servian States, 423.
Merops or Kmets, 245; Merop tenure, 246.
Metokhia (church domain), 235.
Michael Asen, Bulgarian ruler, 469.
Michael Obrenovich, Prince of Servia, 681.
Migrations, 5; final great, 19.
Milan Obrenovich, Prince of Servia 700, King, 707.
Milenko Stoykovich, victor of Ivankovatz, 634, 636, 639.
Military confines, 576.
Military service, 115, 116.
Militza, Tsarina, 217.
Milosh Obrenovich, 661, 662, 664, 665, 666, 671; Prince of Servia, 676.
Milosh Kobilich, Servian knight, 513, note.
Miloutin, King, 198, 200, 224, 232.
Mines, 107, 173.

Minerals, 127.
Mining, 294.
Miri land, 315.
Mishar, battle of, great Servian victory, 640, 641.
Mladen Milovanovich, 630.
Moba, 46, 74.
Model farm schools, 123.
Mohacs, battle of, 501.
Mohammed II, Sultan, 501.
Mohammedan religion, 301.
Mollah, 310.
Monastery, obligations and duties, 233.
Money, 299; fines, 275.
Montenegrin clans, 601, 602.
Montenegro, 131.
"Monumenta Serbica," 177, 199, 208, 212.
"Monuments, Servian, in the Archives of Ragusa," 177.
Moral characteristics, 14, 31.
Morava River, 94, 99.
Mother, sacred word, 51.
Mount Lovtchen in Montenegro, 602.
Mourad I, Sultan, 508.
Mouradja d'Ohson, writer, 308.
Mufti, 310.
Music, 85–90; 409–418.
Musselim, 310.

Napoleon I, 584.
National Assembly, early, 195, 197; Skupshtina, 633.
Nationality, 193.
Natural highways, 94, 95.
Nature gods, 75.
Nelepich, Knez, 531.
Nemanya, 194, 197, 447, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455.
Nenadovich, Jacob, Servian leader, 652.
Neretva, 440.
Nicola I, Prince of Montenegro, 689.
Ninoslav, Ban of Bosnia, 467.
Nobility, 198, 200.
Nobleman, 191.
Novakovich, Stoyan, statesman and historian, 177, 387.
Novo Brdo, siege of, 545; mines of, 295.

Obor-Knez, 313.
Obradovich, Dossithe, poet, 379.
Oklopnik, heavy cavalry, 290.
Old Servia, 170
Ombla, 96, 98.
Opium war in China, 621.
Ore, 127.
"Oriental Question," 620.
Orthodox Church, 340.
Ostoya, King of Bosnia, 523.
Otrok, 264.
Ourkhan III, Sultan, 481.
Ouskoks, 329.

Paleszh, fight at, 669.
Pantaloons, 11.
Paris, treaty of, 622.
Parish priest, 242.
Parliament, 109; early, 197, 201.
Pasvan Oglou, 334.
Paternal authority, 40, 41.
Patriarchat, Servian, 355, 358.
Paulicians, 354.
Pauperism: unknown in Kingdom of Servia, 114; Montenegro, 135; Bosnia, 148, 149 (pauperisation of Bosnia).
"Pax Romana," 423.
Penalties for oppression of people, 230.
Pensions on full pay, 113, 114.
Perper, money value, 222.
Petar, Karageorgevich, King of Servia, 717.
Peter II, Petrovich, Bishop of Montenegro, 685.
Physical, characteristics, 7; conditions of life, 8.
Piccolomini, Austrian general, 591.
Pirot carpets, 129.
Pobratimstvo, 73.
Poland, partage of, 582.
Polignac, Prince, French statesman, 620.
Popular epic and lyric poetry, 395.
Population, 106, 142, 153, 158, 167, 170, 174.

Poutchich, Prince Medo, 177.
Power, Servian predominant, 471.
Pozharevatz, peace of, 605.
Prelo and Selo, 78.
Printing-presses, first (in 1492), 373.
Pristav (sheriff), 225.
Private law, 280.
Products, Servia, Montenegro, 139; Bosnia-Hezegovina, 149; Dalmatia, 156; Croatia-Slavonia, 165, 166; Banat-Batchka, 169; Old Servia 173.
Property in Byzance, 183.
Protection of public order, 210; of property, 224.
Purity, strict laws of, 52.

Race-persistence, 5.
Rad, 177.
Radonich, Goubernador of Montenegro, 686.
Ragusa, Signoria of, 468.
Rashka, 434.
Rayah, 304.
Reforms, Turkish attempts at, 335.
Relations between men and women, 50.
Religion, 23, 27.
Religion, Servia, 111; Montenegro, 134; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 146; Dalmatia, 155; Croatia-Slavonia, 158; Old Servia, 170.
Resources, commerce, and industries in mediæval Servia, 292.
Responsibility and restitution, 284.
Revenues, mediæval Servia, 201–203.
Revolt of Servians in the Banat, 607.
Rhodope, 94–106.
Rising of Hadji Prodan, 665.
River systems, 95–99.
Roads and railroads, Servia, 130; Montenegro, 140; Dalamatia, 157; Croatia-Slavonia, 166; Old Servia, 173.
Robot and dues, 258.
Roman Empire, Holy, of Germanic tongue, 425.
Roumania, Principality of, 697.
Rouvaratz, Illarion, historian, 388.
Russians before Constantinople, 705.
Russo-Japanese war, 625.
Russo-Turkish war, 580; of 1877–78, 623.

Sabor, 197–201.
Sadowa, Austrian defeat at, 696.
Salaries of teachers, 113.
Samuel, Tsar, 438.
San Stephano, treaty of, 705.
Sandal Hranich, 534.
Saracenic Empire, 425.
Sava, 107; Saint Sava, 347.
Savoy, Prince Eugene of, 597.
Schooling in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 147.
Scoplyia (Uskub), 216.
Sculpture, 408.
Second Empire in France, 622.
Seldjuk Turks, 426.
Self-government, 190, 195, 204, 212, 213.
Selo, village or rural community, 208.
Serb Block, 6.
Serbo-Slovenes, 189.
Serbs of great migration, 189.
Servian churches, 362.
Servian Empire, 479.
Servian exhibition in London, 10.
Servian States, early, 433.
Servian States, strong, 449.
Sheikh, Bectashi, 306.
Shumadia Mountains, 105.
Sigismund, King of Hungary, 518.
Simeon, brother of Emperor Doushan, 488.
Sistova, treaty of, 617.
Skupshtina, 110.
Slava, 55–64.
Slavery never practised among Servians, 219.
"Slobodni Lyudi," 242.
Social class distinctions, 219.
Social organisation, 39.
Social pleasures, 45, 46.
Sokolovich, 21; Mehemet, 307.

Song, drinking, 403; elegy, 404.
Songs, 17, 18, 85–90.
Sotje tax, 228.
Souvodol, Kara-George, defeats Turks at, 648.
Sovereign and Court, 215.
Sovet, Servian, 644.
Spahi, 316.
Spomenik, 177, 200, note.
Stamenkovich, N. P., engineer, 389, note.
Stanoyevich, S., historian, 386.
Stareshina, 42.
Starvation in Croatia, in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 148.
Steamships on Danube, 131.
Stephan Detchanski, King, 475.
Stephan Doushan, King, Emperor, 479.
Stephan Dragoutin, King, 470.
Stephan Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich, Despot, 500.
Stephan Nemanya, 371, 347.
Stephan Ourosh, King, 466; Emperor, 388.
Stephan Ourosh II Miloutin, King, 471.
Stephan Vladislav, King, 466.
Stephan Vouktchich Kossatcha, Duke of St. Sava, 539.
Stevan Sindjelich, heroic defender of Tchegar redoubt, 649.
Strossmayer, Archbishop, 392.
Succession to the throne, 215.
Suleyman, 21.

Takovo, meeting at, beginning of second rising, 666.
Taxes, 202, 203.
Tchiflik, property landed, 333.
Thirty Years' War, 574.
Tilsit, treaty of, 619.
Timar, holding, 315.
Timur-Lenk (Tamerlane), 500.
Tjephalia, 207.
Tower of skulls, 649.
Town, mediæval, 206–208.
Towns, Servia, 106–110; Bosnia-Herzegovina, 143.
Trade-routes, 297.
Treaty of San Stephano, 143.
Troy, war of, 423.
Turkey, plan for partage of, 583.
Turkish State-documents written in Servian, 367.
Turko-Servian war, 702.
Tvrtko, King of Bosnia, 490, 496, 512.

Uniates, Church, 599.
United States of America, 583.
University, 112–114.

Vakouf property, 314.
Vardar River, 99.
Varna, battle of, 539.
Vayat, 67.
Velbuzhd, battle of, 289.
Vened, 4.
Venice, 460.
Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, 691.
Vienna besieged by the Turks, 562.
Vienna, Congress of, 619.
Vila, 29–31.
Vishnyich, Philip, blind bard, 402.
Vlachs, dues of, 260, 263.
Vladislav, King, 295.
Vladislav, King of Poland and Hungary, 536.
Vlainatz, Dr. M., 177.
Vlastelin, 227.
Voislav, 198.
Voukashin, proclaims himself King, 489.
Voutchidol, Montenegrin victory of, 702.
Voyvod, 201.

Wars of liberation, 618.
Westphalia, treaty of, 578.
Widow, special rights, 245.
Wife of Servian sovereign had legal participation in deliberations of National Assembly, 198.
Woman's place, 50–55.
Wycliff, 351.

Yatak, 320.
Young Turkey party, 621.

Zadruga, 8, 12, 39, 50, 178, 190.
Zbor, early legislative body, 195.
Zemlyani, 239.
Zeta, early political centre, 440.
Zhupa, 179.
Zhupan, 192.
Zhupan, Grand, 193, 195, 204.
Ziamets, property holding, 315.
Zmay, 31.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY
Los Angeles
This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

REC'D LD-URL
JUN 11 1984

REC'D LD-URL
NOV 30 1984

REC'D LD-URL
JUN 12 1987

REC'D LD-URL
JUN 13 1988

Form L9-Se

SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY
AA 000 737 589 2
3 1158 00252 6241